I. G. Gibson
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HISTORY
OF THE
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WITH
AMERICA, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND
HOLLAND;

commencing in 1775 and ending in 1783

By JOHN ANDREWS L.L.D.

In Four Volumes with Portraits Maps and Charts

Vol. IV.

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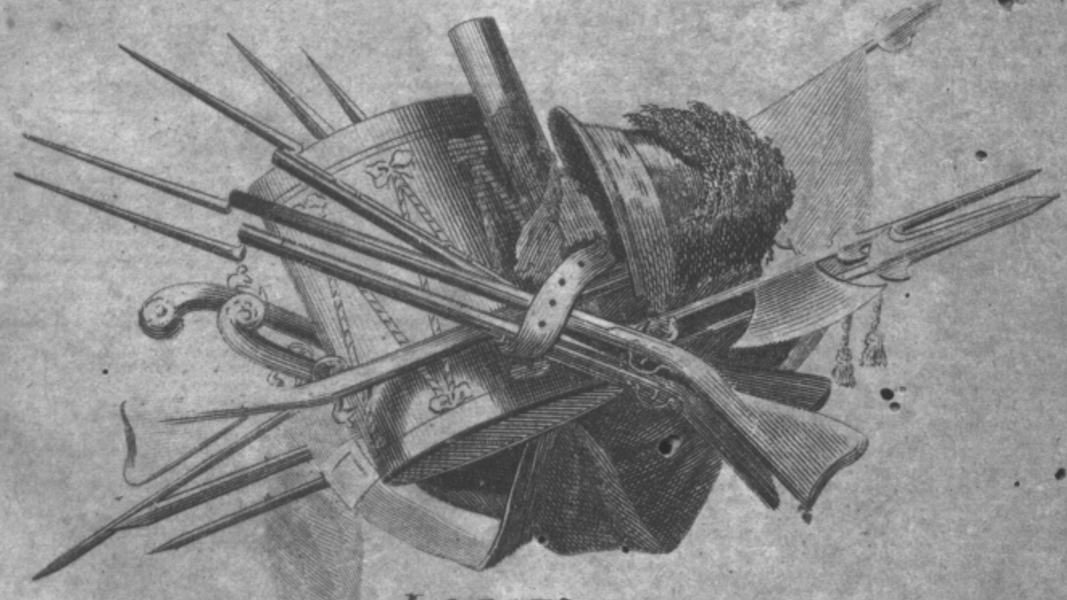

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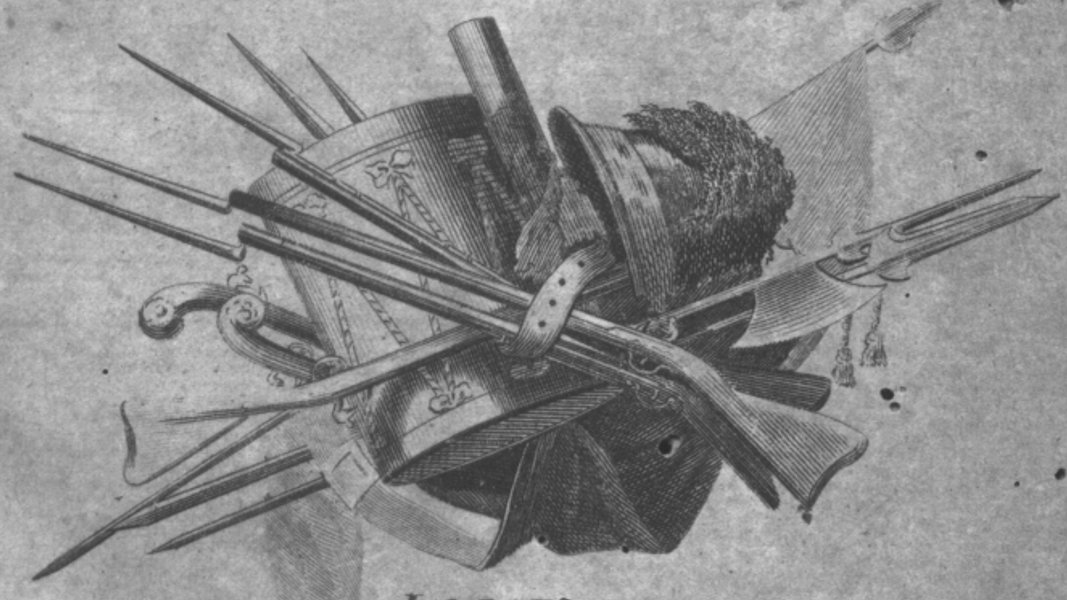

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HISTORY

OF THE

WAR, &c.

CHAP. LII.

Armed Neutrality.—Conduct of Holland.—Succeſſes of Admiral Rodney.

1780.

WHILE the foregoing tranſactions were taking place in America, a new and unexpected ſcene was preparing in Europe, which marked in a peculiar manner the opening of the enſuing year.

The jealouſy entertained by the maritime powers in Europe, of the power and preeminence exerciſed by Great Britain at ſea, had operated hitherto but covertly and indirectly. Expecting that the union of the Houſe of Bourbon would have proved ſufficient to check it effectually, they had remained paſſive ſpectators of a conteſt, which they imagined would not fail to terminate to the diſadvantage of this country. So great and potent a combination as that of America, France, and Spain, ſeemed to promiſe, without any additional aid, to bring the maritime ſtrength of Britain to that ſtate of diminution, which was the general wiſh and aim of European politics.

But when it was found that the ſpirit and exertions of Britain were ſuch, as afforded little hope that even this mighty confederacy would ſucceed in compaſſing this long deſired object, a determination was taken by all the remaining powers to form a naval combination in order to effect it.

Pretences for a meaſure of this kind were not wanting. The activity and number of Britiſh privateers, had rendered them univerſal objects of terror, not only to the commercial ſhipping of their enemies, but to the many veſſels belonging to other powers, that were employed in furniſhing them with ſuch articles as were not conſiſtent with a ſtrict and fair neutrality. Goods coming under this deſcription in the plaineſt and moſt uncontrovertible manner, were often made, nevertheleſs, a ſubject of litigation, and the letter of treaties was wreſted, in order to put a wrong interpretation upon them, in evident contradiction of the ſpirit by which they were dictated.

As the Britiſh miniſtry inſiſted, on the other hand; upon the propriety and lawfulneſs of ſeizing articles of this nature, contentions aroſe between Great Britain and the various powers to which the veſſels laden with ſuch articles belonged. The right of preventing ſupplies from being carried to the enemy was ſo manifeſt, that nothing but an inclination to make uſe of any opportunity to quarrel with this nation, could have prompted that eagerneſs with which all Europe ſeemed to conſpire in refuſing to admit the validity of the arguments upon which the conduct of the Britiſh government was founded.

The principles alledged in its defence were derived from ancient and long received practice.—They had for ages conſtituted that part of the law of nations which relates to the uſages eſtabliſhed in civilized countries in times of war. They formed

ſo

ſo powerful a barrier to the deſigns in agitation againſt Great Britain, that while their validity was allowed, no juſt complaint could be framed againſt the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry.

The only method remaining therefore to arraign it, was to call in queſtion the rectitude of thoſe principles, and to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem of maritime laws, contrary to thoſe which had been ſo long in force. By theſe means the pretences of Britain would be overthrown, and the right ſhe claimed of intercepting the ſupplies carried to her enemies, would be entirely annulled.

That power which took the lead in the promulgation of this new ſyſtem was Ruſſia; one that ought, according to all the rules of what ſeemed juſt policy, to have acted a friendly part to Britain, and diſcountenanced a meaſure which tended ſo manifeſtly to detriment her in a material degree.

It was under the protection of ancient maxims, and cuſtoms, that Britain maintained the arduous conflict againſt ſo many powerful enemies with no ſmall ſucceſs. It was for that reaſon alone that Europe determined they ſhould undergo a total alteration.

Whatever might be the ſecret motives for ſo extraordinary a determination in the Court of Ruſſia, it was with juſt ſurprize the Court of Great Britain received notice that it had formed a code of naval regulations, which militated in the directeſt manner againſt the practices hitherto obſerved in Europe, and were evidently levelled at the maritime power of this country.

It was a matter of peculiar aſtoniſhment that Ruſſia ſhould be at the head of a combination ſo injurious to Great Britain. The favours ſhe had received from the Britiſh miniſtry, in her late war with the Turks, and ſtill more the commercial benefits reſulting from a connection with this country,

ſeemed to ſecure the good will of Ruſſia, and even its aſſiſtance, in caſe of neceſſity. Little therefore was it expected that it ſhould prove the firſt of all European potentates in that inimical declaration, the intent of which was to deprive Great Britain of the principal reſources that enabled her to ſtand her ground in the midſt of ſo many difficulties.

The purport of this celebrated declaration was, that the navigation of neutral powers ſhould remain as free and unobſtructed in time of war, as in that of peace; and that provided their ſhips were not laden with contraband goods, they ſhould enjoy the liberty of conveying, free of ſeizure and reſtraint, all other articles whatever, though belonging to the ſubjects of the powers at war.

This declaration, ſo contradictory to the ideas and practice that had hitherto prevailed, was received with much apparent ſubmiſſion and deference by the Courts of France and Spain, of which it ſtrongly forwarded the views. Great Britain, contrary to her cuſtom and character, was obliged to temporiſe on this trying occaſion. Her anſwer to this mortifying declaration, though guardedly expreſſed, was not wanting in terms ſufficiently clear to remind Ruſſia how different a part Great Britain had acted to her in the day of need.

In taking a ſtep of ſo unprecedented a nature, Ruſſia had previouſly uſed the precaution of ſecuring the concurrence of all her neighbours. So formidable was the impreſſion of the power and ſpirit of Britain, notwithſtanding the perils that ſurrounded her, that none of the northern powers durſt preſume, alone and unſupported by the others, to enter the liſts againſt Britain in ſo hoſtile and deciſive a manner.

Denmark and Sweden joined accordingly with Ruſſia in this naval confederacy; to which Holland, and even Portugal itſelf, were invited to accede. So prevalent,

valent, and ſo powerful was the univerſal malevolence to Britain, and ſo unqueſtionably was it reputed the intereſt of Europe to co-operate in the humiliation of her maritime grandeur. In this manner was formed that univerſal aſſociation of the neutral powers in Europe againſt Great Britain, which aſſumed the denomination of "Armed Neutrality."

Of all thoſe ſtates whoſe conduct was inimical to Britain during the conteſt with America, none afforded juſter cauſe of reſentment than that of Holland. Since the commencement of that unhappy quarrel, a clandeſtine commerce had been carried on between the Dutch and the Americans, highly prejudicial to the affairs of Great Britain. The encouragement given to the revolted Colonies was open and manifeſt. They were not only furniſhed with all manner of ſupplies, but undiſguiſed countenance and reſpect were ſhewn to their flag, in a manner incompatible with the honour and dignity of Great Britain.

Repreſentations had frequently been made to the States General of this impropriety of conduct in their ſubjects, by the Britiſh Ambaſſador at the Hague, Sir Joſeph Yorke, who complained in a memorial preſented in the month of February, ſeventy-ſeven, of the diſregard ſhewn to ſeveral antecedent remonſtrances, and inſiſted on a behaviour in future more ſatisfactory to the Court of Britain, inſinuating, that in caſe of non-compliance, due reſentment would be ſhewn.

Though a reſpectful anſwer was returned to this remonſtrance, the correſpondence ſtill continued between the Dutch and the Americans on the ſame footing as before.

On the rupture with France, this unfriendly diſpoſition towards Great Britain on the part of Holland was exhibited more openly, and exerted with a higher hand than ever. The dock-yards of France

were ſupplied with all kind of materials for the conſtruction and equipment of fleets, with as much readineſs and aſſiduity, as if France and Holland had formed the cloſeſt alliance againſt Britain.

Though incenſed at ſuch unprovoked uſage, Britain went no further than to ſeize thoſe Dutch veſſels that were loaded with naval ſtores for the French ports. The States of Holland pleaded the letter of a treaty made a century ago; but they were given to underſtand that nothing could be more ungenerous and unjuſt than to inſiſt on the fulfilling of a treaty which the circumſtances of the preſent time rendered inadmiſſible. Britain could not permit Holland to ſupply France with naval ſtores, without expoſing herſelf to imminent danger. There were a numberleſs variety of other articles in trade, from the importation of which into France the Dutch might derive immenſe profits, without furniſhing that power with the means of injuring Great Britain.

In order to take away all pretences of complaint from the Dutch, the Britiſh government, inſtead of making prizes of the veſſels laden with theſe hoſtile cargoes, came to the generous determination to purchaſe at a fair valuation, all the naval ſtores that were on board the Dutch veſſels brought into the ports of Great Britain, to pay the freight of the cargoes, and to indemnify the proprietors in all the juſt expences and damages occaſioned by the detention of their veſſels.

While the Court of Great Britain was repeatedly complaining of the obſtinacy with which the Dutch merchants continued to furniſh the French with naval ſtores, theſe, on the other hand, preſented a memorial to the States, remonſtrating againſt the ſeizure of their veſſels employed in that buſineſs, and requiring protection for their proſecuting it in ſafety.

France,

France, in the mean time, nonſcious of the neceſſity of procuring this reſource to her marine, inſiſted peremptorily on its being protected by the States, in theſame manner as every other branch of the Dutch trade. So ſtrenuous was the French miniſtry in aſſerting the propriety of this meaſure, that it threatened to conſider a relaxation of the demands made upon Great Britain by Holland, as an infraction of the neutrality which Holland was bound to obſerve between France and Great Britain, and as an evident proof of partiality to the latter. The French Ambaſſador preſented a memorial to the States on this ſubject, urging them in the moſt preſſing manner, to an effectual and ſpeedy compliance with the requiſition of his Court.

In order to encourage the importation of naval ſtores a regulation was iſſued in France in the month of July ſeventy-eight, by which ſuch various advantages were granted to neutral veſſels as accorded with the views of being ſupplied through their means with the neceſſaries for her navy. But on the States not complying with the requiſition of the French miniſtry in the manner it had propoſed, theſe advantages were revoked with reſpect to the ſubjects of Holland; the city of Amſterdam alone excepted; which had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of France, and demanded of the States the equipment of a ſquadron for the protection of its navigation to that kingdom, againſt the Britiſh cruizers.

Notwithſtanding the authority aſſumed by the Court of France, in preſcribing to the Dutch in what manner they ſhould obſerve their treaties with Great Britain, the French faction in Holland was ſo powerful, that inſtead of reſenting this freedom, it was repreſented as juſtifiable and well founded. Clamours in the mean time encreaſed againſt the Britiſh government; and it was deſcribed as aiming

at an exclusive right of framing laws for the commercial correspondence between different states.

On the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Great Britain, fresh representations were made to the States, on the necessity of prohibiting the exportation of naval stores to her enemies; but they had no more effect than the former: the difficulties wherein Britain was involved, seemed, on the contrary, to have infused into the people of Holland a stronger desire to add to the distresses of the British nation.

A formal demand was now made upon Holland on the part of Great Britain, for the succours stipulated by the treaties subsisting between them. The dangers that menaced both states from the family compact of the House of Bourbon, were laid before the Dutch in their strongest colours. But whatever might be the real cause of their averseness, to listen to the representations from the Court of Great Britain, whether they were intimidated by the vast power displayed by its numerous enemies, or influenced by an invincible jealousy, they still continued in the same unfriendly disposition. No answer was given to the memorial; and all appearances tended to prove a fixed determination to act an inimical part towards Great Britain.

In the beginning of the year eighty, a fleet of merchantmen laden with naval stores for the French navy, sailed from Holland under the convoy of a squadron of men of war. Intelligence of this being brought to England, a squadron was dispatched under Commodore Fielding, to intercept them. On meeting the Dutch fleet, he requested permission to search them as usual; but this was denied, contrary to the right of treaty. Hereupon he sent his boats with orders to insist upon the examination of the cargoes; but they were fired upon by the Dutch commander, Count Byland, and prevented from executing

ecuting thoſe orders. Commodore Fielding upon this, fired a ſhot a-head of the Dutch Admiral, who returned it with a broadſide; Captain Fielding replied with another, and the former ſtruck his colours. In the mean time moſt of the Dutch veſſels laden with naval ſtores, had found means to eſcape. They proceeded on their voyage, and arrived ſafe in the French ports; where they brought naval ſupplies in abundance, and which at that time were very much wanted.

The remainder of the Dutch fleet was carried into Portſmouth; whither it was accompanied by Count Byland, who refuſed to forſake it, though permiſſion was given him to continue his voyage with the ſquadron under his command.

The complaints of the States General were loud and violent upon this occaſion; and yet they had manifeſtly violated the right of ſearch eſtabliſhed by treaty, and never yet called in queſtion.

What rendered the conduct of the Dutch ſtill more offenſive, was, that while they aſſiſted the enemies of Great Britain in this open decided manner, they forbad their ſubjects, under heavy penalties, to furniſh the garriſon of Gibraltar with proviſions, notwithſtanding Spain had at that very time behaved to the Dutch in a manner equally diſreſpectful and injurious to their intereſt.

This conduct betrayed a ſtrange forgetfulneſs of the ſtrong ties by which they were connected with Britain, and of the evident neceſſity of preſerving that balance of power in Europe, in which Holland was more concerned than any ſtate upon the continent. It ſhewed with what efficacy the enemies of Britain had exerted themſelves, in overturning the political ſyſtem that had ſo long prevailed in that republic; and how oppoſite thoſe maxims they had introduced, were to that cloſe and intimate friendſhip with the Britiſh nation, of which the utility

had

had been proved by the experience of two centuries.

Incenſed at theſe continual provocations, the Court of Great Britain reſolved at length to expreſs itſelf in terms ſo clear and deciſive, as to draw an explicit anſwer from the States reſpecting their ultimate intentions to this country.

Towards the cloſe of March, eighty, the Britiſh Ambaſſador at the Hague was directed to renew the requiſition for the ſuccours to which Great Britain was entitled by ſeveral treaties. It was now eight months ſince it had been laid before the Aſſembly of the States, during which time it had lain wholly unnoticed. He expoſtulated with them accordingly with great force and dignity. He reminded them of the many motives that ſhould induce them to live in the ſtricteſt amity with Britain: and concluded by informing them, that if a favourable anſwer were not returned to his requiſitions within the ſpace of three weeks, the Court of Great Britain would look upon ſuch refuſal as a breach of the alliance, on the part of Holland; and would conſider the Republic in no other light than as a neutral ſtate, not priviledged to particular favours by any treaty, and as having, by its conduct, made void all thoſe that ſubſiſted between both ſtates.

The reply to this memorial, was, that the time preſcribed was too limited for an anſwer to be given to it conformably to the rules and conſtitutions of the Republic. But this reply was viewed by the Britiſh miniſtry as a meer evaſion. As the States General had been eight months in poſſeſſion of the requeſt now repeated, full leiſure had been allowed them to deliberate upon it; and it was unbecoming to require any longer ſpace for conſultation.

In conſequence of the anſwer given to the Britiſh Ambaſſador, it was now reſolved at the Court of Great Britain, to put in force, conformably to the

notice

Gt Fred. L. Koehler del.t

W. Angus sc.

Published July 15, 1785, by I Fielding, Pater Noster Row.

notice he had given, the ſuſpenſion of the privileges enjoyed by the ſubjects of Holland, in virtue of the conceſſions made in their favour by former treaties. After waiting the ſpace of time notified, no ſatisfactory anſwer being returned, a declaration was publiſhed, wherein, after a circumſtantial repreſentation of the conduct obſerved by Holland ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, the above reſolution was formally ſpecified.

In the mean time, the Britiſh miniſtry was fully occupied in providing for the various poſſeſſions of Great Britain in foreign parts that were menaced by her numerous enemies. Among other places, Gibraltar was now cloſely inveſted, and preſſed both at land and ſea by the fleets and armies of Spain. Immediately on this Court's declaring its acceſſion to the confederacy formed by France and America againſt Britain, Gibraltar was blockaded; and all means of ſupplying it with neceſſaries induſtriouſly cut off on every ſide.

The great abilities and valour of General Eliott, the Governor, afforded the beſt founded expectation of its making a vigorous defence: but the ſcantineſs and uncertainty of the ſupplies it had received ſince the beginning of the ſiege, began to be very alarming; and it was now time it ſhould be relieved in a regular and ſufficient manner to enable it to continue a ſucceſsful reſiſtance.

To this purpoſe a ſtrong ſquadron was prepared, and the command of it given to Sir George Rodney, whoſe ſervices in the laſt war had recommended him to the notice of government. He fell in, a few days after ſailing from England, with a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen tranſports, bound from Bilboa to Cales. They were laden with proviſions and naval ſtores, and convoyed by a ſhip of ſixty-four guns, four frigates, and two armed veſſels. Only one tranſport eſcaped. The reſt were taken, and

proved

proved a heavy loſs to the enemy; who were at that time in great want both of proviſions and materials for their ſhipping. This capture took place on the eighth of January, eighty.

On the ſixteenth, a Spaniſh ſquadron of eleven ſail of the line, was diſcovered off the Cape of St. Vincent. As the day was far advanced, in order to reach them the ſooner, the Britiſh Admiral made the ſignal for a general chace, to engage as the ſhips came up, by rotation, and to take the lee gage, in order to prevent the enemy from retreating into their own ports.

The action began at four in the afternoon; the headmoſt ſhips in the Britiſh ſquadron cloſing in with the neareſt of the enemy. In about half an hour one of their ſhips, mounting ſeventy guns, and carrying ſix hundred men, blew up, and they all periſhed. After two hours fight, another Spaniſh ſhip of the line was taken. The action continued with great vigour on both ſides, till two o'clock in the morning; when the headmoſt ſhip of the enemy ſtruck to the Sandwich: after which they ceaſed firing.

The weather was ſo tempeſtuous during the night, that it was with extreme difficulty poſſeſſion could be taken of thoſe ſhips that had ſurrendered. They were ſix in number; of which two went on ſhore and were loſt, and the other four were brought ſafe into Gibraltar. They conſiſted of the Spaniſh Admiral's own ſhip of eighty guns, and ſeven hundred men, and three of ſeventy guns, and ſix hundred men.

This engagement happened ſo near the ſhore, and the Britiſh ſhips were ſo eager in ſecuring the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's eſcape, that Admiral Rodney's ſhip, and ſome of the largeſt in the fleet, were in great danger of running on the ſhoals off the coaſt of St. Lucar. Nor did they return into

deep

deep water, till after much labour, and the exertion of great ſeamanſhip.

The behaviour of the Spaniards in this conflict was very brave and ſpirited: but notwithſtanding their gallant behaviour, it was the opinion of all who were preſent in the action, that had it taken place by day, or the weather been leſs boiſterous, not one of them would have eſcaped. Thoſe that did were ſo conſiderably damaged, as to be unfit for ſervice.

The Spaniſh Admiral, Don Juan de Langara, behaved with great courage, and did not ſurrender till after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The ſhip he ſtruck to was commanded by Captain Macbride. Having the ſmall pox on board, a diſtemper of which the Spaniards are remarkably apprehenſive, he notified it to the enemy, offering to ſend a party of his own people on board of them, without ſhifting any of theirs to his own ſhip, provided the Spaniſh Admiral and his officers would pledge their honour, that the Britiſh ſeamen ſhould not be interrupted in the poſſeſſion of their prize. This humane propoſal was accepted with the higheſt expreſſions of gratitude, and complied with in every point that had been required, with the utmoſt honour and punctuality.

The conſequences of this important victory were the complete relief of Gibraltar, and of Minorca, both of which, till this event, had been conſidered as in a ſtate of imminent peril.

After performing theſe ſervices, Admiral Rodney ſailed for the Weſt Indies; where he was commiſſioned to aſſume the chief command. Admiral Digby proceeded home with the fleet and the prizes, and had the good fortune to fall in with a French man of war of ſixty-four guns, which he took. It convoyed, with another ſhip of the line, a large number of ſhips bound to the iſlands of Mauritius; with military ſtores and recruits. They were too far

far diſtant when firſt perceived, to be purſued with ſucceſs; and only three of the ſtore-ſhips were taken: the reſt eſcaped with the other ſhip of the line, and reached their deſtination.

Theſe various ſucceſſes occaſioned uncommon ſatisfaction in England. They came at a critical ſeaſon; and contributed powerfully, not only to raiſe the ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, but to damp the hopes that had been formed in France and Spain, of ſtriking a deciſive blow at the opening of the naval campaign, by the re-union of the French and Spaniſh navies. The beſt officers and ſeamen in the marine ſervice of Spain were in the ſquadron that had been taken or deſtroyed; and the ſhips themſelves were in the beſt condition of any in the Spaniſh navy.

Sir George Rodney was honoured upon this occaſion with an unanimous vote of thanks from both Houſes of Parliament. Their conſideration of his ſervices was ſo warm, that they zealouſly recommended him as deſerving of the moſt ſignal notice and recompence on the part of the Crown. In this they were the more urgent, as the Admiral's domeſtic affairs were in much diſorder, when he was appointed to the command of the expedition wherein he had been ſo ſucceſsful. There were alſo other motives for wiſhing to ſee him provided for in an honourable and liberal manner. Among others he had, while in France, refuſed ſome very advantageous proffers conveyed to him through perſons of the firſt diſtinction; who had ſtrongly urged him to enter into the naval ſervice of that crown. But though the proſpects held out to him were very brilliant, and he was at the time in circumſtances of diſtreſs, he nobly refuſed to take part with the enemies of his country.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

Charleſtown taken by Sir Henry Clinton.—Succeſſes of Lord Cornwallis.

1780.

THE preceding campaign had terminated very diſadvantageouſly to the Americans. The maritime force of the New England provinces had been almoſt wholly deſtroyed at Penobſcot; and they had ſuffered a great and mortifying defeat at Savannah. The mighty projects formed by D'Eſtaing had been fruſtrated in the completeſt manner. He had been vanquiſhed and compelled to retire with a ſhattered fleet and a broken army. Unable to proſecute any further operations, he was now returned to France, and the Colonies were again left to their ſole exertions, with little proſpect of receiving any aſſiſtance from their French allies, in ſufficient time to obviate effectually the attempts that might be made, in conſequence of the ſuperiority now obtained by the Britiſh forces.

While the fate of D'Eſtaing was in ſuſpenſe, the apprehenſion that he could not fail of ſucceſs with ſuch a ſuperior ſtrength, obliged the Britiſh commanders at New York to make all neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence. General Waſhington had collected all the ſtrength he could muſter from the contiguous provinces, and was advancing towards that city, in order to be at hand to cooperate in the attack concerted between him and the French Admiral.

The neceſſity of adding materially to the numbers that would be requiſite to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, occaſioned the garriſon of

Rhode

Rhode Iſland to be recalled from that ſtation to inforce the troops at New York. Thus, had the French commander ſucceeded at Savannah, it was much to be doubted, whether he would have been equally ſucceſsful in the ſubſequent part of his deſign.

But his defeat and expulſion from Georgia, having given a new turn to affairs, a different plan of operations took place of courſe in the councils of the Britiſh commanders at New York. The diſappointment experienced by the Americans had greatly diſpirited them. The troops that had reſorted to General Waſhington from various parts, in full confidence of putting an end to the war by a deciſive blow, now returned home in high diſcontent, and bitterly complaining that no reliance could be placed on their new ally; from whom they had hitherto received great promiſes but little effects.

In this ſtate of public diſſatisfaction among the Americans, it was reſolved to carry the Britiſh arms ſouthward; where the diſtance from the center of the enemy's ſtrength opened a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, and where an impreſſion upon them would be more ſeverely felt than elſewhere, from the greater value of the countries, of which reduction was in view, in point of riches and commercial produce and importance.

The poſſeſſion of Georgia afforded a ready acceſs to the large and valuable Province of Carolina. From this motive, and thoſe above mentioned, it was determined to make this the object of an expedition, while the enemy's force was in a great meaſure ſcattered and diſperſed by the diſbanding of the major part of the army under General Waſhington, and the ſplitting of the other corps into numerous detachments, for the purpoſe of protecting the various places that were liable to be attacked.

Towards

Towards the cloſe of the year ſeventy-nine, Sir Henry Clinton embarked with a conſiderable land force, under the convoy of a ſtrong ſquadron commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. Their deſtination was Savannah; but their progreſs was much retarded by contrary winds and ſtormy weather. They did not arrive off the coaſt of Georgia till the expiration of January.

On the twelfth of February the army was ſafely landed on the iſlands in the vicinity of Charles Town; and from thence proceeded to the banks of Aſhley's river; between which and Cooper's river that town is ſituated.

Here he was obliged to remain a conſiderable time, waiting for the arrival of the neceſſary ſtores and implements for the carrying on of the intended ſiege of that place. This delay was chiefly occaſioned by the loſs of the principal ordnance ſhip, which was ſunk in a gale of wind on the paſſage from New York, and by the loſs of the draft-horſes belonging to the artillery.

Owing to theſe, and a multitude of other impediments, ſeveral of them ariſing from the nature of the climate, and of the ground that was the ſcene of action, it was near the cloſe of March before the Britiſh forces croſſed the river Aſhley. This motion was made under the protection of the armed gallies. The boats of the fleet landed the whole army, with the artillery and ſtores requiſite for the ſiege, without any reſiſtance on the part of the enemy.

From the deficiency of battering cannon, occaſioned by the loſs of the ordnance ſhip, the Britiſh General was obliged to have recourſe to the Admiral, for a ſupply of pieces of heavy metal. A ſufficient number were in conſequence landed, with a detachment of ſeamen under the command of Captain Elphinſtone.

The day after the army had made good its paſſage over Aſhley river, it advanced to Charles Town. It broke ground within eight hundred yards of the enemy's works, in the night of the firſt of April; and in ſeven days after, had perfected the batteries propoſed, and mounted them with cannon.

On the eighth of April Admiral Arbuthnot forced his way into Charles Town harbour, under a heavy fire from Fort Sullivan, which damaged ſeveral of his ſhips. He took complete poſſeſſion of all the different paſſes, and entirely blockaded the town on that ſide.

The gaining of the harbour of Charles Town was the heavier a diſappointment, as the Americans were firmly perſuaded, from the vigorous and fortunate reſiſtance made by Fort Sullivan, two years before, that it would have obſtructed the entrance of the Britiſh ſquadron with the like ſucceſs.

Depending on the efficacy of the defence it would make, they had moored ſeveral ſhips and gallies in a poſition to make a raking fire on the Britiſh ſquadron, on its approaching the fort; and doubted not being able to reduce it to ſuch a condition, as to fruſtrate all expectations of ſucceeding in any attempt of that nature.

They had alſo, as a further means of prevention, ſunk in the channel leading to the town, four large frigates, with ſeveral merchant ſhips, fitted with chevaux de frize on their decks, in the manner of thoſe that had been formerly ſunk in the Delaware to the ſame intent. An immenſe boom was alſo extended acroſs this channel. It was compoſed of ſpars, chains, and cables, ſecured together by ſhips maſts; and it was defended on the ſide of the town by ſtrong batteries, mounting upwards of forty pieces of heavy cannon.

Theſe obſtacles being ſurmounted, and the Britiſh ſquadron having taken poſſeſſion of the harbour,

Sir

Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot jointly ſummoned the town to ſurrender; but General Lincoln, who commanded there, anſwered that he would defend it to the laſt extremity.

On this refuſal, the batteries were opened on the ninth of April, and operated with ſuch effect, as quickly to abate the fire of the enemy. The works were carried on with ſo much ſpirit and activity, that the beſiegers in a few days approached within little more than four hundred yards of the town.

In order to cut off the communication between the town and country, a detachment of choſen men was formed; the command of which was given to Colonel Webſter, an officer of noted ſkill and bravery: He was accompanied by Colonel Tarleton, with a body of cavalry; and by Major Ferguſon, with a party of light infantry.

The enterprize they were ſent upon, was attended with a variety of difficulties. They had rivers to croſs, and other arduous operations to execute, in preſence of an enemy ſtrongly poſted, and who had a very ſuperior cavalry. It was principally at this corps their efforts were aimed. Through the great diligence and dexterity of Colonel Tarleton, it was ſurprized and totally defeated. This obſtruction being removed, Colonel Webſter advanced into the country, and ſeized all the principal paſſes, by which means the town was now completely inveſted.

Theſe ſucceſſes enabled the Britiſh army to carry on the ſiege with additional vigour. The enemy, on the other hand, made no leſs reſolute a defence. They had uſed great induſtry in fortifying the place. The neck of land incloſed between the two rivers, Aſhley and Cooper, was a continued chain of lines, redoubts, and batteries. At their extremities, towards both rivers, they were covered by deep ſwamps, communicating by a canal cut along their

their front. In the intermediate ſpace between theſe works, and the body of the place, were two rows of fallen trees, fixed into the earth, in the manner of a fraiſe work: behind theſe was a double picketed ditch. In the center of the lines they had conſtructed a kind of citadel: the artillery mounted on theſe different works, conſiſted of eighty-pieces of cannon and mortars.

The ſiege of Charles Town had in the mean while greatly alarmed the contiguous provinces. Senſible how much it behoved them to preſerve a place of ſuch importance, they were exerting their utmoſt endeavours to raiſe a force ſufficient to its relief. The defeat of the troops in the neighbourhood of Charles Town, by Colonel Webſter, had greatly diſconcerted them. But that which they regretted moſt, was the deſtruction of their cavalry by Colonel Tarleton. They were at uncommon pains to repair this loſs; and with much induſtry and expence collected another body of horſe, which was immediately diſpatched to the aſſiſtance of the troops that were advancing from various quarters to the aid of the beſieged. But on receiving intelligence of their approach, Colonel Tarleton was ordered to attack them. He executed his commiſſion with ſo much ſucceſs, that almoſt the whole corps was either taken or deſtroyed; and all the horſes with their accoutrements fell into the hands of the victors.

While theſe ſucceſſes were obtained in the country bordering upon Charles Town, Admiral Arbuthnot was exerting himſelf with no leſs vigour and good fortune on that ſide which lay towards the ſea. He formed a brigade of ſeamen and marines, with which he made himſelf maſter of forts Mount-pleaſant and Sullivan. The garriſon of the firſt abandoned it without reſiſtance, and that of the ſecond ſurrendered by capitulation.

By

By the ſixth of May the beſiegers had puſhed their works to the canal that connected the two ſwamps on the right and left, and had almoſt drained it. They paſſed it three days after, and advanced towards the ditch next to the body of the place.

In this extremity, finding that no relief was to be expected, and the Britiſh army was preparing for a general aſſault, the American Governor propoſed to deliver up the town on terms which had already been offered him; but which he had rejected.

By theſe terms it was agreed, that the American troops and ſeamen were to remain priſoners of war till exchanged; but not to be deſpoiled of their private property: the militia to return to their dwellings, there to abide as priſoners on their parole; on keeping which, they were to be ſecure from all moleſtation. The citizens of Charles Town to be comprehended in this article. The ſubjects of France and Spain to retain their effects, with permiſſion to leave the place; but to continue priſoners on parole.

The Britiſh army took poſſeſſion of Charles Town on the twelfth of May. The priſoners made on this occaſion amounted to upwards of ſix thouſand; among whom were a thouſand ſeamen. Seven general officers were taken; and a prodigious number of others, from the eagerneſs with which all thoſe who were in the vicinity of Charles Town repaired to its defence.

The artillery that fell into the hands of the victors, conſiſted of near four hundred pieces; and the ſhipping, of four large frigates, and a great quantity of boats, with conſiderable ſupplies of military ſtores.

The conſequence of the reduction of Charles Town, was a general diſcouragement of the people

in the neighbouring provinces; and no little alarm and diſcontent throughout the conſinent, when the vaſt expectations excited by D'Eſtaing were contraſted with his failure, and the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms under Sir Henry Clinton.

As no doubt was entertained that he would loſe no opportunity of improving them to the utmoſt, great pains were taken by the Americans to collect with all poſſible ſpeed, a force ſufficient to make ſome ſtand, till a proper army could be formed. To this purpoſe detachments from ſeveral parts were drawn to the borders of North Carolina, where it was naturally expected the motions of the Britiſh army would next be directed.

On receiving this intelligence, Lord Cornwallis marched up the country ſituated along the banks of the river Santee. The enemy were poſted at a place called Wacſaw, on the boundary line between North and South Carolina, diſtant from him upwards of one hundred miles. Colonel Tarleton was again ſelected to command a choſen body, in order to attack them before they could be reinforced. He travelled with ſuch expedition, that he reached them on the third day of his march. Upon refuſing to ſurrender on the terms he proferred, which were the ſame that had been granted to the garriſon of Charles Town, he attacked them with ſo much courage and ſkill, that they were nearly all either killed in the action, or wounded and made priſoners, with all their artillery and baggage. This was the third victory obtained by means of the Britiſh cavalry, commanded by Colonel Tarleton. Their numbers both in this and the foregoing engagements, were inferior to thoſe of the enemy; but the men were choſen troopers, and admirably expert at the management of their horſes and arms.

This action decided for the preſent the fate of Carolina. The bravery exhibited by the Britiſh troops

during the whole of this ſervice, had been remarkably conſpicuous. Both the naval and military branches co-operated with a warmth and emulation that ſtruck a damp upon the enemy from the very beginning. Among thoſe who chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, beſides thoſe that have been mentioned, was Major Moncrief, ſo deſervedly celebrated for his defence of Savannah, in the capacity of engineer againſt Count D'Eſtaing. He acquired no leſs glory in his conduct of the attack upon Charles Town; where he diſplayed a genius and abilities that gained him the higheſt admiration.

All reſiſtance now fell before the Britiſh arms in South Carolina. It was conſidered as completely reduced; and arrangements were in conſequence taken by Sir Henry Clinton to ſecure its poſſeſſion againſt all future attempts from the enemy. Moſt of the people in the Province were either priſoners, or profeſt adherence to the cauſe of Britain.

Encouraged by theſe flattering appearances, he iſſued ſeveral proclamations in order to excite the well-affected to behave with attachment and fidelity; and to deter the oppoſite party from cauſing any diſturbances. The plan he propoſed to follow in the eſtabliſhment of that Province, was to render all perſons acknowledging allegiance to the Britiſh government, inſtrumental in its defence. To this intent they were divided in two claſſes of militia: ſuch men as had families, were alloted to the guard of their reſpective diſtricts: ſuch as had none, were to be embodied in the ſame manner as the others under their own officers, and to be employed in conjunction with the Britiſh troops, in repelling invaſions, and keeping the enemy out of the Province. They were not, however, to march beyond the limits of Georgia and North Carolina; and after ſerving ſix months out of the enſuing

twelve, in the manner prescribed, they were to be exempted from all, but the common duties of the militia.

Sir Henry Clinton had promised himself great utility from these regulations. He was certainly well founded in his expectations. A loyal and affectionate address had been presented to him, and Admiral Arbuthnot, a few days after the reduction of Charles Town, signed by two hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants. Numbers came in also from every part of the country, declaring their allegiance, and offering their services in support of the British government. Many of them, in proof of their fidelity, had seized their leaders, and brought them prisoners to the British quarters.

During the expedition of Sir Henry Clinton to Charles Town, the city of New York was exposed, by the severity of the winter that followed after his departure, to the greatest danger it had experienced ever since its reduction by the British army in the year seventy-six. The frost began with the year eighty, and lasted with unremitting violence till towards the close of February. The rivers in the neighbourhood of New York, and the streights and channels between the circumjacent islands, were so firmly frozen, as to bear the heaviest weight of waggons or carriages of any kind.

The British commanders in that city were justly apprehensive that the enemies would not fail to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity of making an attempt upon it. As it was now united to the continent by the plains of ice that surrounded it on every side, its situation was become extremely dangerous; and called up their whole attention and endeavours to put it in a state of defence against the attacks to which it was so widely exposed.

All

All that were able to bears arms, were employed upon this occaſion. As the ſhips of war were faſt locked in the ice, their ſeamen came aſhore, and were formed into companies under their own officers. The crews of the tranſports and other veſſels had alſo their ſtations appointed them. The body of ſailors that did duty, amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred, and the citizens that were embodied, to near three thouſand. This was an eſſential addition to the regular troops, and removed all apprehenſion on account of any attempt from the enemy.

Apprized of theſe preparations, the Americans did not think proper to form any enterprize againſt that city: they contended themſelves with haraſſing ſome out poſts; without meeting however, with any ſucceſs. Neither was the ſituation of General Waſhington ſuch as to enable him to undertake ſo daring a project as the attack of New York, in the circumſtances of ſtrength it had now acquired. His army was conſiderably diminiſhed by the departure of thoſe numbers whoſe time of ſervice was expired; and the winter was too ſevere to expect any recruits before the inclemency of the weather was abated.

The moſt agreeable conſequence reſulting from the criticalneſs of this emergency, was the proof given by multitudes of the Americans of their ſincere attachment to the cauſe of Britain. Moſt of the volunteers raiſed among the inhabitants of New-York, were cloathed and armed at their own expence; and they underwent the fatigue and hardſhips incident to the ſeaſon, and the occaſion that had called them forth, with great ſpirit and alacrity.

In the mean while the ſpecious appearances of ſubmiſſion in the Province of South Carolina, did not laſt long after the departure of Sir Henry Clinton. The averſion to the Britiſh government was

ſo deeply rooted in the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants, that numbers of them were daily offering their property to ſale on the beſt terms they could find, in order to quit that Province. But as many of theſe were largely indebted to Britiſh ſubjects, a proclamation was iſſued by Lord Cornwallis, prohibiting the diſpoſal of property, and the removal of individuals, without a ſpecial permiſſion firſt obtained.

The loyal party in North Carolina, encouraged by the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, began now to meditate an inſurrection in their favour; but they were ſo narrowly watched, that they found it impoſſible to carry ſuch a deſign into any effectual execution. Hurried by their impatience, and prompted by the ſevere treatment they experienced, a conſiderable number of them roſe tumultuouſly, and without the previous formation of any plan of acting; the conſequence of which was, that they were quickly ſuppreſſed, and compelled to conſult their ſafety by making the beſt of their way to the Britiſh quarters.

The attention of Congreſs was now ſeriouſly turned to the recovery of South Carolina; the importance of which was now the more felt from its unexpected loſs. Large detachments of regulars were collected from every quarter whence they could be ſpared, and diſpatched with all ſpeed to reinforce the troops remaining in the vicinity of that Province: Virginia and North Carolina, which were moſt intereſted, as being neareſt the ſcene of danger, exerted themſelves with great vigour. Virginia in particular, in order to act with the greater celerity and effect, inveſted the Governor appointed by their new conſtitution, with abſolute power during the receſs of their Provincial Aſſembly. This was the firſt act of the kind that had taken place in any of the United States: it was probably ſuggeſted by

the recollection of the dictatorial power accasionally conferred upon perſons of great truſt and abilities in ancient Rome, in times of difficulty and diſtreſs.

Lord Cornwallis prepared to meet theſe hoſtile exertions with his uſual activity. He was effectually ſeconded in his views by Lord Rawdon, a young nobleman whoſe valour and military talents began at this time to diſplay themſelves with uncommon luſtre. The town of Camden was fixed upon as the centre of operations, from its convenient ſituation on the Santee, a large river, navigable through a great extent of country, and at hand to convey ſtores and troops to various parts of the Province, and eſpecially to thoſe bordering on North Carolina, from whence the efforts of the enemy were chiefly expected.

Experience daily ſhewed what ſmall reliance could be placed on thoſe who had ſubmitted to, and promiſed to ſupport the Britiſh government.—General Gates and Baron Kalbe, a German officer of high merit, were now advancing in great force to oppoſe the progreſs of Lord Cornwallis. As ſoon as they had reached the confines of South Carolina, the people of this Province repaired to them from every diſtrict, regardleſs of their aſſurances of fidelity, and of their being priſoners on parole. Bodies raiſed for the Britiſh ſervice, took the firſt opportunity to leave it; two whole battalions wenr over to the enemy in this manner.

General Gates was now at the head of ſo conſiderable a force, that the poſt at Camden was become very much expoſed. His main-body preſſed it on the one ſide, and a ſtrong detachment, under General Sumpter, was endeavouring to cut off its communication with Charleſtown. The whole country beyond Camden had declared in his favour. The troops there were in a very reduced condition through

through the heat and the unhealthineſs of the climate; no leſs than eight hundred were from illneſs rendered unfit for ſervice: this was an alarming dimunition to ſo ſmall an army in the midſt of an enemy's country.

Such were the circumſtances of the Britiſh forces Lord Cornwallis arrived at Camden. From the great ſuperiority of the Americans, it was imagined by them that he would have retreated to Charleſtown, while it ſtill lay open to him, and would not have dared to venture an engagement with General Gates, who had near ſix thouſand men in excellent condition, excluſive of the body under General Sumpter, amounting to fifteen hundred, and which was every hour expected to join him.

To oppoſe this force, Lord Cornwallis had no more than fourteen hundred regulars, with four or five hundred militia and refugees from North Carolina; but he relied on the goodneſs of his troops. He alſo foreſaw that much was to be gained by a victory, and little to be loſt by a defeat. By the firſt he would preſerve, together with the reputation of the Britiſh arms, the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, beſides the poſt of Camden, with the vaſt quantity of ſtores there depoſited, and the great proportion of ſick troops, which, if he retired, would fall into the hands of the enemy.—Were he, on the other hand, to be defeated, he made no doubt of being able to ſecure his retreat to Charleſtown, at all events.

Having taken the determination to fight the Americans, his next care was to procure information of their ſituation and motions. Finding that they were encamped at twelve miles diſtance, and that their beſt troops occupied a diſadvantageous ground, he reſolved to march in the night, in order to ſurpriſe and attack them by the break of day.

He ſet out from Camden at ten, and at two in the morning, after proceeding nine miles his advanced guard fell in with the enemy. By the weight of the fire he was convinced they were in conſiderable force, and ſoon found by the report of ſome priſoners, that General Gates had marched his whole army to attack the poſt at Camden.

Lord Cornwallis immediately halted and formed his troops; the enemy did the ſame, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides. Happily for the Britiſh army, the ground where both armies were met was narrowed by ſwamps on the right and left, which was an advantageous circumſtance to the ſmall numbers of which the Britiſh army conſiſted. Lord Cornwallis having taken meaſures that the enemy ſhould not have it in their power to avoid an engagement on that ground, reſolved to defer the attack till day, not chuſing to riſk an engagement in the uncertainty and confuſion to which an action in the dark is peculiarly liable.

As ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Britiſh forces
Auguſt 16, drew up in order of battle; the centre
1780. under Lord Cornwallis, the right wing under Colonel Webſter, and the left under Lord Rawdon; a ſelect body of reſerve was ſtationed in the rear, together with the cavalry, under Colonel Tarleton.

The American army formed at the ſame time in two lines; when Lord Cornwallis obſerving a motion on their left, which indicated an intention to make ſome alteration in their order, he ſeized that opportunity to begin the attack, which was begun with great vigour by Colonel Webſter on the right, and in a few minutes the action became general along the whole front of the line.

The weather being calm and hazy, prevented the ſmoke from riſing, and occaſioned ſo thick a darkneſs, that the effects of the vigorous fire maintained

ed on both ſides could not be perceived. The Britiſh line continued to advance in good order, keeping up a conſtant fire, or making uſe of the bayonet, as opportunity offered. After an obſtinate reſiſtance during three quarters of an hour, the enemy was thrown into total confuſion, and forced to give way in all quarters. The cavalry completed the rout, and after doing great execution on the field of battle, purſued the flying enemy more than twenty miles.

The loſs of the enemy was very conſiderable.—The ſlain amounted to near nine hundred, and the priſoners to one thouſand: Among the former were General Gregory and Baron Kalbe, the ſecond General officer in command: among the latter was General Rutherford. A great number of colours were taken, with all the artillery and ammunition, and all the baggage and camp equipage. Of the victors not more than ſeventy were ſlain, and two hundred and fifty wounded.

So complete a victory over an army ſo ſuperior in number, did the higheſt honour to the Britiſh troops. Nor were the Americans, though defeated, wanting in proofs of firmneſs and intrepidity: their regulars behaved with great reſolution, and were only broken at the point of the bayonet.

The conduct of Lord Cornwallis was remarkably cool and intrepid on this day. From the beginning to the end of the action, not a ſingle opportunity was loſt that tended to ſucceſs. Every advantage that offered was inſtantly diſcovered, and immediately improved to the utmoſt. He was no leſs ably ſeconded by his officers, among whom Lord Rawdon, with Colonels Webſter and Tarleton ſignalized themſelves moſt conſpicuouſly.

This victory was a very unexpected event to the Americans, who had conſidered themſelves as certain of ſucceſs. General Gates had ſome days be-

fore

fore the battle iſſued a proclamation, by the terms of which it was plain that he entertained no doubt of expelling the Britiſh forces from the poſts they occupied in South Carolina.

Nor were the troops under his comand'leſs confident of ſucceſs. In this hope they ſubmitted to extreme hardſhips in their march through the Carolinas towards Camden. They were ſometimes without bread, flour, meal, or meat for ſeveral days, and compelled to feed on apples, green peaches, and corn unripe. But they bore their wants with great patience, in expectation of finding ample relief at Camden, from whence they doubted not the Britiſh troops would retreat to Charles town on their approach.

Two days after the action at Camden, Lord Cornwallis detached Colonel Tarleton in queſt of the American General Sumpter, who with a conſiderable body had for ſome time been ſucceſsfully employed in haraſſing the convoys of proviſions coming from Charleſtown. As he was advantageouſly poſted near the fords of the river Catawba, it was apprehended that the routed army might from that conſideration, repair to his encampment, and re-aſſemble there in force ſufficient to make a freſh ſtand, till they received further ſuccours.

Colonel Tarleton executed this commiſſion with his uſual activity and addreſs. Having procured information of General Sumpter's ſituation, he came up with him by forced and concealed marches, and ordered his motions with ſuch dexterity, that he ſurprized his camp in the middle of the day.—The American General's detachment was totally deſtroyed or diſperſed; three hundred were made priſoners, beſides the ſlain, and near three hundred of the Britiſh troops, whom they had captured, were retaken.

This

This laſt defeat of the enemy gave the finiſhing blow to the hopes they had formed of regaining poſſeſſion of South Carolina, and inſpired the friends of the Britiſh government with a determination to exert themſelves inobviating all attempts on the part of the diſaffected. To this purpoſe they ſeized, in conformity with the directions of Lord Cornwallis, on the arms of thoſe who lay under ſuſpicion of enmity, and kept a watchful eye on all their motions.

The loyal party in North Carolina were alſo directed on this occaſion to take up arms and aſſemble immediately, in order to apprehend the moſt violent among their opponents, and to take poſſeſſion of all their military ſtores and magazines, and at the ſame time to intercept all ſtragglers from the routed army. To encourage them in the execution of theſe orders, Lord Cornwallis propoſed without loſs of time, to advance with his whole army to their ſupport.

This was the more neceſſary, as notwithſtanding their late defeat, the American officers were exerting the utmoſt induſtry to repair their ſhattered army. As the remains of it were much ſuperior in number to the Britiſh forces at Camden, and in the environs of that place, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to uſe the utmoſt circumſpection in all his movements. The ſick and wounded in his army were very numerous, and the reduction of ſtrength he had ſuffered, though ſmall in compariſon to the greatneſs of the victory of which it had been the price, diſabled him for a time from improving it in a manner adequate to its importance, and correſponding with the plan he had formed, and would have executed, had circumſtances been favourable to his activity.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV.

Naval Operations in the Weſt Indies.—Proceedings in North America.

1780.

WHILE the Britiſh arms were thus proſpering on the continent of North America, the honour of the Britiſh flag was no leſs ſtrenuouſly maintained in the Weſt Indian ſeas. Notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of force of which the French were poſſeſſed, they were unable to render it of the efficacy they had expected. Monſieur De Guichen was now at Martinico with twenty-five ſail of the line. He came at the head of this formidable fleet in ſight of St. Lucia. He was accompanied with eight large frigates, and a number of tranſports full of troops, intending to land and attack the iſland; but the diſpoſitions made on ſhore by General Vaughan, and the judicious arrangement of the ſquadron under Admiral Hyde Parker, with the recollection of what had happened on the ſame ſpot to Count D'Eſtaing a twelvemonth before, prevented the French Admiral from making any attempt; and he returned to Martinico after having made an ineffectual parade for ſeveral days.

The ſame vigour was diſplayed on the Jamaica ſtation. Several Spaniſh ſhips of force and value were taken: among others, one of fifty guns, laden with a vaſt quantity of military ſtores for the ſettlements on the Spaniſh Main.

The junction of Spain to France in the quarrel againſt Britain, enabled them to acquire a naval ſuperiority in this latitude, from which they promiſed themſelves great advantages. Monſieur De

la Motte Piquet was at this time cruizing in theſe parts with a ſtrong ſquadron, for the protection of the French trade. While employed in convoying a large fleet of merchantmen, he fell in with three Britiſh ſhips of war, of ſixty-four, fifty, and forty-four guns. His own force conſiſted of four ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, and two frigates. Notwithſtanding this great diſparity, the Britiſh commander, Captain Cornwallis, received the enemy with the moſt determined reſolution, and maintained a vigorous fight from five in the afternoon, during the whole night, and part of the next day; the remainder of which was employed in repairing damages on each ſide. In the morning of the enſuing day, a Britiſh man of war of ſixty-four guns fortunately came in ſight, with two frigates. Encouraged by this acceſſion of ſtrength, Captain Cornwallis reſolutely bore down upon the enemy, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority they ſtill poſſeſſed. But the French ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in the foregoing engagement, that they did not think proper to renew it. This action, in which the French Admiral was wounded, gained much reputation to Captain Cornwallis; and impreſſed the enemy with the higheſt opinion of the ſkill and intrepidity of the Britiſh officers and ſeamen. It was particularly noticed in this engagement, that the French ſtudiouſly avoided a cloſe fight, and kept as much at a diſtance as they could, conſiſtently with the intent of doing execution. This remarkable action happened on the twenty-fifth of march, eighty. It was ſpoken of throughout all Europe with the higheſt admiration, and ſtrongly confirmed the opinions of thoſe who had ventured, notwithſtanding the formidable combination againſt Great Britain, to foretell that ſhe would face it with honour, and come out of all her difficulties in defiance of their number and magnitude.

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In the latter end of March, Admiral Rodney arrived at St. Lucia, and aſſumed the command of the Britiſh fleet. He directly determined to go in queſt of Monſieur De Guichen, and offer him battle. He ſailed accordingly from St. Lucia on the ſecond of April, and proceeded to Fort Royal Bay at Martinico, where he lay two days ſo cloſe in with the French fleet, as to count their guns, and near enough to exchange ſhot with ſome of their batteries aſhore.

The French, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, keeping in port, the Britiſh fleet returned to St. Lucia, with the honour of having challenged them to fight. Some ſwift ſailing frigates were left to watch their motions, and give notice, in caſe they ſhould ſail out of their harbour.

On the fifteenth the French fleet put to ſea in the middle of the night. On receiving this notice, Admiral Rodney followed them with all expedition, and came in ſight of them before night. Their fleet conſiſted of twenty-four ſail of the line, and four frigates; the Britiſh fleet of twenty ſail of the line, and two frigates.

The enemy's motions tended evidently to avoid an engagement; but the precautions taken to defeat their intent were ſo effectual, that ſeeing themſelves compelled to engage, they formed their line of battle about break of day.

Between eight and nine in the morning, Admiral Rodney made a ſignal to bear down upon the enemy; which perceiving, they altered their poſition to one more advantageous than their former, and continued in this manner varying their motions, in order to elude the diſpoſitions of the Britiſh fleet.

At twelve the ſignal was made for battle, and for a cloſe engagement; and about one the headmoſt ſhips commenced the action; at which time the Sandwich in the center began to engage. By four in-

the afternoon ſhe had driven three ſhips ſucceſſively out of the line; after which ſhe was attacked by the French Admiral, of equal force to herſelf, aſſiſted by two other ſhips of ſeventy-four guns. Though alone, ſhe encountered them all three with ſo much ſpirit and ſkill, that after an engagement of an hour and a half, they were obliged to bear away. This broke the center of the enemys line, and they appeared by their motions to be completely defeated: but the great diſtance of the van and rear diviſions of the Britiſh fleet from the center, and the damages ſuſtained by ſome of the ſhips during the action, prevented a purſuit: the Sandwich in particular was in ſo dangerous a condition, that it was with difficulty ſhe was for the enſuing twenty-four hours kept above water.

Two days after, the Britiſh fleet having repaired its damages, went in purſuit of the enemy, and chaced them three days without being able to overtake them. They conſtantly avoided coming to action; their intention being to recover their ſtation at Martinico. But finding they could not compaſs it without hazarding an engagement, they took ſhelter under Guadaloupe.

As it was plain, however, from their motions, that their intentions were to return to Martinico, where only they could be refitted, Admiral Rodney made the beſt of his way to the road of Fort Royal, as the moſt probable chance of meeting and bringing them to action.

The number of ſlain and wounded on board the Britiſh fleet, amounted to about four hundred and ſeventy; among the former was Captain St. John, of the Intrepid: the French fleet was near a thouſand, according to their own account.

It was with no ſmall ſurprize, the people at Martinico beheld the Britiſh fleet cruizing off that iſland, after having been told that it was entirely defeated. After remaining there ſome time, the

enemy

enemy not appearing, it was found neceſſary to repair to St. Lucia, in order to put the ſick and wounded aſhore, and to refit and water the fleet.

This being effected, Admiral Rodney put to ſea on the ſixth of May, in conſequence of being apprifed the French fleet was returning to Martinico. He came in ſight of it on the tenth; but notwithſtanding the enemy ſtill had the ſuperiority of number, they could not be induced to riſk a general action, though it was daily in their power.

As they were ſenſible of their advantage in ſailing, they ventured to approach the Britiſh fleet, in order to obſerve its movements and condition, relying on their ability to elude a purſuit. Admiral Rodney, who was watchful of every opportunity of drawing them to action, decoyed them by an appearance of retreating, into ſuch a poſition, as enabled a part of his fleet to come up with them.

None but the van of the Britiſh fleet could have any ſhare in the engagement, from the expedition with which the enemy continued to withdraw, and the impoſſibility of bringing the remainder of the fleet into action. Captain Bowyer of the Albion, and Admiral Rowley in the Conqueror, both of ſeventy-four guns, bore the brunt of the day; and though they ſuffered from the vaſt ſuperiority they had to encounter, the damage they did to the enemy was ſuch, that before parting they had almoſt ſilenced the fire of the rear of the French fleet. This engagement happened on the fifteenth of May.

The enemy kept their diſtance, as uſual, until the nineteenth; when the Britiſh fleet having fetched their rear, they were again brought to action in order to extricate it. Commodore Hotham, who commanded the van, attacked them with great ſpirit, and compelled them during ſome time to a cloſe fight, in which they ſuffered ſeverely. They were purſued in their retreat to a great diſtance; when

the ſwiftneſs of their ſailing having carried them out of ſight, Admiral Rodney ſtood towards Barbados, to repair and victual the fleet, in order to enable it to go in queſt of the Spaniſh fleet that had ſailed from Cadiz to the aſſiſtance of the French, before theſe could again be in a condition to put to ſea.

The courage and dexterity diſplayed by the officers and ſeamen of the Britiſh fleet, in theſe two laſt rencounters eſpecially, was highly remarkable. Captain Bowyer again ſignalized himſelf in the latter of theſe, no leſs than he had done in the former; as did alſo Admiral Rowley, on board of whom his Captain, Watſon, an officer of great merit and bravery, was mortally wounded.

Theſe ſeveral actions terminating ſo honourably to the Britiſh fleet, ſtruck both the French and Spaniſh iſlands with great terror. It was in vain the French publiſhed, that the advantages were on their ſide. The appearance of the Britiſh fleet, after the firſt action, in ſight of Martinico, and the retreat of the French fleet to that iſland, after the two laſt, were a poſitive refutation of their accounts. It was well known, that had the French been ſucceſsful, the ſuperior quickneſs of their ſailing muſt have enabled them to obtain the completeſt victory, and to have taken or deſtroyed every ſhip belonging to the Britiſh fleet.

While theſe tranſactions were taking place in the Weſt Indian ſeas, the people on the continent of North America were beginning to loſe patience at the duration of the war, and the continuation of the difficulties under which they laboured. It had been the ſanguine expectation of the Colonies, that the alliance they had formed with the Houſe of Bourbon, would have proved a deciſive meaſure in their favour, and compelled Great Britain to have given up the conteſt. But when they ſaw that inſtead

ſtead of being diſheartened, the Britiſh nation had gathered freſh courage from the very acceſſion of this inveterate enemy to the quarrel with their American dependencies, and that inſtead of loſing ground, they had, on the contrary, faced both France and Spain with ſucceſs, numbers of the Americans grew diſcontented, and expreſſed themſelves in terms highly offenſive to the ruling powers among them. They diſcovered in their allies a deficiency of means to accompliſh the ends they had in view, of which they had no idea; and they no leſs perceived in the ſpirit and reſources of Britain, the prolongation of a war, of which they had fondly hoped to ſee a ſpeedy termination to their advantage.

So unexpected an iſſue to their expectations, began to ſtagger the reſolution of multitudes. Free diſcourſes were held on the circumſtances of the Colonies; and it was ſurmiſed that a reconciliation with the parent ſtate on conſtitutional terms, was no undeſirable an object; and preferable to a ſtruggle, that had hitherto produced nothing but hardſhip and miſery.

Ideas and converſations of this kind were frequent even in Philadelphia itſelf. They could not fail to prove greatly repugnant to the views of the principal perſons who preſided over the affairs of America. Whatever might be the ſenſe and wiſhes of the majority, the ambition of the ruling party was ſo deeply intereſted in ſuppreſſing the growth of ſuch notions, that every precaution was uſed to diſcourage them, and to ſilence thoſe who ventured to expreſs themſelves in a manner ſo contradictory to the maxims eſtabliſhed among them by public authority.

Though Congreſs was duly ſenſible of the danger that might accrue from conniving at ſuch freedoms, it does not appear to have interpoſed avow-

edly in counteracting them. Poſſibly the members of that body did not think it prudent to acknowledge the reality of any diſſatisfaction among their conſtitutents. But in their default, and not improbably through their inſtigation, the matter was zealouſly taken up by the military officers in their ſervice, at that time in Philadelphia.

At a meeting held in that city in the month of April, of the year eighty, they came to a determination, "That it was their duty to take a fixed and "unalterable reſolution to curb the ſpirit of inſo-"lence and audacity manifeſted by the deluded and "diſaffected." Such were their own words.

"To effect this ſalutary purpoſe," ſaid they, "we do declare to our country, that we will not "aſſociate, or hold communication with any per-"ſons who have exhibited by their conduct an ini-"mical diſpoſition, or even lukewarmneſs to the "independence of America; nor with any perſon "who may give encouragement or countenance to "them, however reputable his character, or dig-"nified his office.

"We do alſo declare, that we will hold any "gentleman bearing a military commiſſion, who "may attempt to contravene the objects of this de-"claration, as a proper object of contempt, and "that we will with alacrity ſeize every opportunity "of evincing to the world our abhorrence of a con-"duct ſo derogatory to the dignity of the army."

This declaration did not, however, put a ſtop to the liberty of ſpeech that had been lately aſſumed by ſuch numbers. The interference of the military ſeemed, on the contrary, to have given diſguſt to many; who did not abſtain from complaints, that they had deviated from their proper line by this interpoſition, and exerciſed an authority which belonged only to the civil power. The conſequences of the army's aſſuming the powers of government

vernment in the unhappy days of Charles the Firſt, were commemorated on this occaſion; and the neceſſity of obviating ſuch an evil in its firſt appearance, was no leſs ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on.

But if this act of the military met with diſapprobation from ſome, it was no leſs warmly countenanced by others; and excited a freſh exertion of enmity to Britain in ſeveral of thoſe who had moſt influence in public matters.

In the declaration publiſhed by the officers, they had complained of an improper lenity in government; and that from the principles of univerſal liberty on which it was founded, people derived a diſpoſition to act and ſpeak licentiouſly.

The council of ſtate in the Province of Pennſylvania, took advantage of this complaint, to make uſe of the executive power with which it was inveſted, in carrying into execution a meaſure of great ſeverity. It publiſhed an ordinance, enjoining the wives and families of individuals in the oppoſite party to leave the Province in the ſpace of ten days; and threatened that whoever of them remained after that time, ſhould be entitled to no protection, but be proceeded againſt as enemies of the ſtate.

The motives aſſigned for this ſevere edict, were, that their reſidence was injurious to the public intereſt, from the correſpondence and intercourſe which it conſtantly occaſioned with the enemy, and the conſequent danger reſulting from them.

From the capture of Charleſtown by Sir Henry Clinton, the ſucceſſes of Lord Cornwallis, and the vigour with which Britain oppoſed France and Spain, the affairs of the Americans were at this time in a very critical ſituation. It was become ſo viſible, and was ſo thoroughly felt, that it was thought indiſpenſibly requiſite by the ruling party at Philadelphia, to keep a ſtricter eye than ever on all

all thoſe whom they ſuſpected to waver in their attachment to the republican ſyſtem. For this reaſon they required all individuals to produce certificates that they had ſworn fidelity to the ſtate.

In the mean time, as the publications among the Coloniſts teemed with reproaches of the moſt arbitrary and mercileſs intentions on the part of Britain, ſhould her arms reduce them to obedience, it was judged highly proper to contradict them in a public and ſolemn manner. To this purpoſe a proclamation was iſſued by General Robertſon, newly appointed Governor of the Province of New York, wherein he ſtrove by a variety of arguments and motives, drawn up with equal ſtrength and elegance of language, to convince the Coloniſts that the diſadvantageous repreſentations of the deſigns of Great Britain were ſuggeſted by the malice and intereſted views of ambitious and artful individuals, and that it was her ſincere deſire to compaſs a re-union of America by a liberal compliance with all the demands ſhe could form for the ſecurity of her liberties.

But whatever pains were taken to induce the Americans to conceive more friendly ideas of the policy of Great Britain, thoſe who took up the pen on the ſide of Congreſs, were no leſs induſtrious in deſcribing the ſituation of Britain to be ſuch, as to juſtify the perſuaſion of thoſe who looked upon her as driven by her diſtreſſes to make the conceſſions ſhe was holding forth to the Americans.

She was repreſented as ſtanding alone, abandoned and unpitied by the world, left to ſuffer the puniſhment due to her avarice and her ambition, and pronounced entirely deſerving of the calamities under which ſhe laboured. Her memorials and remonſtrances, which were formerly wont to command ſuch reſpect and attention, were now treated with neglect and contempt, and expoſed her to de-

riſion; from the inefficacy with which they were attended. The politics of Europe had united every Court againſt her; they were either openly allied, or ſecretly confederated in the deſign of humbling her pride.

The intereſt of Europe was a tie that bound it indiſſolubly to America. From the north to the ſouth of the European continent, every ſtate conſpired to deprive Great Britain of the monopoly ſhe had ſo long enjoyed in her Colonies; it was in vain ſhe expoſtulated or menaced: nations were deaf to her expoſtulations, and deſpiſed her threats.

The ſtrength exhibited by Britain in the ſtruggle ſhe ſtill maintained, could not, in the nature of things, cope with that of her numerous enemies. Perſeverance in the conteſt on their part, would finally compel her to ſubmit to their terms, in ſpite of her haughtineſs and obſtinacy. It was not the ſucceſs of a day, nor the tranſitory triumphs obtained by lucky accidents, that would enable her to overcome the potent combination of ſo many ſtates. Allowing her courage and her ſkill to be ever ſo great, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they were matchleſs and invincible. If nothing elſe availed, the very duration of the war would ruin her, through the weight of thoſe taxes with which her exigencies would compel her to load her people, in order to maintain the unequal conflict againſt ſo many enemies, and ſhe muſt unavoidably ſink at laſt under ſuch a multiplicity of preſſures.

From this depictment of the ſtate of Great Britain, it was inferred that it would be puſillanimity in the Americans to liſten to thoſe terms of accommodation with which ſhe was perpetually amuſing them. They were incompatible with their true intereſts, which conſiſted in maintaining a perfect neutrality reſpecting all nations, and in governing themſelves at home according to their own ſyſtems,

without

without ſuffering any ſhackles from the interference of a foreign authority.

Such was the ſubſtance of thoſe many allegations urged with ſo much vehemence, and often with ſo much fury and indecency of language, againſt all offers of reconcilement on the part of Britain.

The various performances of this kind with which America abounded at this period, ſerved not a little to keep alive the ſpirit of reſiſtance and enmity to Great Britain. It was in a great meaſure owing to theſe, that the failure of their allies in compaſſing the great objects they had propoſed, as well as their own diſappointments, were viewed in the light of temporary evils, which patience and conſtancy in purſuing the meaſures they had adopted, would infallibly put a period to; as notwithſtanding the reſolution of the enemy from whom they proceeded, the repetition of his efforts would of themſelves waſte his ſtrength, and oblige him at laſt to abandon the conteſt, for want of means to proſecute it.

It could not, however, eſcape their obſervation, that in ſpite of difficulties and diſtreſſes, the ſame ſpirit animated the Britiſh nation as in the days of its greateſt ſplendour. The unconquerable courage of her ſoldiers and ſeamen ſhone forth upon every occaſion. Throughout the campaigns on the continent of America, no inſtance of the leaſt defect of their ancient valour had happened among the Britiſh troops; whether they had been ſucceſsful, or had failed in their endeavours, both officers and men had preſerved their military character unſullied.

The ſame conduct had marked their naval officers and people. The French had, ſince their entering into the conteſt, vainly endeavoured to repreſent themſelves as having had the ſuperiority in ſome engagements, wherein the Engliſh had claimed

ſucceſs. The deſcription given of them by the latter, were ſo plain and intelligible, and carried ſo evident a face of truth, as to obtain credit with facility among the impartial and the intelligent; while the embaraſſed and confuſed accounts given to the public by the French, were of themſelves inſufficient to invalidate their pretentions.

Various engagements had taken place at ſea, between the Engliſh and the Americans. Several had been very remarkable for the courage and obſtinacy exerted on both ſides; but that which attracted moſt notice was between Captain Pearſon of the Serapis, a large frigate accompanied with a ſmaller, and an American ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſhips of forty guns, one of thirty, and another of twelve, commanded by the celebrated Captain Paul Jones. After exchanging ſeveral broadſides, Captain Pearſon's ſhip and that of Captain Jones, from the anchor of one hooking the quarter of the other, lay ſo cloſe to each other, fore and aft, that the muzzles of their guns touched each others ſides.

In this ſingular poſition they engaged full the ſpace of two hours. During this time, the quality and variety of combuſtible matter thrown from the American ſhip into the Serapis, ſet her on fire no leſs than ten or twelve different times; and it was not extinguiſhed without the greateſt difficulty and exertion.

During this conflict of the two ſhips, another of equal force to the Serapis, kept conſtantly ſailing round her, and raking her fore and aft in the moſt dreadful manner. Almoſt every man on the main and quarter deck was either killed or wounded. Unhappily for the Serapis, a hand granade thrown from the enemy into one of her lower deck ports ſet a cartridge on fire: the flames catching from one cartridge to another, all the way aft, blew up the

people

people that were quartered abaft the main-maſt; from which unfortunate circumſtance all thoſe guns were rendered uſeleſs for the remainder of the action.

After an hour and a half's fight, the people on board the American ſhip called out for quarter, and ſaid they had ſtruck: Captain Pearſon hereupon called upon Captain Jones, to know whether he had ſtruck or aſked for quarter. No anſwer being returned, after repeating the queſtion two or three times, Captain Pearſon ordered his men to board the enemy: but on preparing to execute his orders, they perceived a ſuperior number lying under cover, with pikes in their hands ready to receive them: hereupon they deſiſted and returned to their guns; continuing the fight half an hour longer; when the other ſhip coming acroſs the ſtern of the Serapis, poured a whole broadſide into her: her main maſt went by the board, while from her poſition, ſhe was not able to bring a ſingle gun to bear upon that ſhip. Finding it impracticable to ſtand out any longer with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, the Serapis ſtruck. Had it not been for the accident of the cartridges taking fire, and the conſequences that enſued, there was no doubt the latter muſt have proved victorious, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy. The American ſhip was in the greateſt diſtreſs: her lower deck quarters were drove in, and all her lower deck guns diſmounted: ſhe was on fire in two places, and had ſeven feet water in her hold. Her people were obliged to quit her and ſhe ſunk the next day. Out of three hundred and ſeventy-five men, which was her complement, three hundred were killed and wounded.

The other frigate that accompanied the Serapis ſhared the ſame fate; being taken by one of greatly ſuperior force, after a deſperate reſiſtance. Her Captain's

Captain's name was Piercy, and her own the Countess of Scarborough.

This action, though it terminated unsuccessfully to the two British ships, was of little advantage to the enemy. An excellent ship was lost, with a number of good hands; and the purpose of their cruise was totally defeated. The honour of the day was allowed to be on the side of Captain Pearson; whose conduct and valour were universally admired, and would in all likelihood have been crowned with success, but for the accident abovementioned. It ought however to be acknowledged, that Captain Paul Jones displayed great personal bravery throughout the whole engagement, and fully maintained the reputation he had already acquired.

It was much about the same time that engagement took place between a French man of war of forty guns, and the Quebec frigate, wherein the sails of this latter taking fire from her guns, the flames communicated to the vessel itself, and occasioned her to blow up. Before this accident, the fight had been maintained with so much skill and courage by Captain Farmer, who commanded the Quebec, that no advantage had been gained by the enemy, notwithstanding his superior strength in number of guns and weight of metal. The combat began at nine in the morning, at yard-arm, and lasted till two in the afternoon: both ships were dismasted, and a terible slaughter made, when the misfortune on board the Quebec put an end to the engagement. Captain Farmer perished with his vessel; out of which only thirty men were saved. These two engagements happened in the autumn of seventy-nine; the first off the coast of Yorkshire, the second off Ushant.

The many resolute exertions of this kind, which were frequent in the British navy, convinced the

enemy

enemy how difficult a taſk it would prove to bring Great Britain to that ſtate of depreſſion which they had in contemplation. Inſtead of reducing the number of her ſhips and merchant-men, their own were daily diminiſhed by the much more numerous captures made upon them by the Britiſh cruiſers.

Such was the relative ſituation of both parties towards the cloſe of the year ſeventy-nine, and the commencement of eighty. An unanſwerable proof of the real ſuperiority which Great Britain maintained at ſea, was that, notwithſtanding the vaſt appearance of ſtrength diſplayed by her enemies, they were foiled in all their enterpriſes, and had been obliged to abandon the principal deſigns they had propoſed to execute.

It was from the thorough perſuaſion of their inability to ſucceed without farther aſſiſtance, that they applied with ſo much earneſtneſs to all the maritime powers in Europe for their interpoſition againſt Britain; and it was from the ſame conviction, together with their exceſſive jealouſy of the aſcendancy of Britain at ſea, that theſe powers ſo readily coincided with the views of France and Spain, and united together under pretence of maintaining the freedom of trade and navigation.

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

Siege of Gibraltar.—Losses at Sea.—Transactions in the West Indies, and in North America.

1780.

AMONG those motives that induced Spain to join the confederacy against Great Britain, was the long and earnestly cherished desire of recovering Gibraltar. The possession of this important fortress by a foreign power, was highly mortifying to the Spanish Court and nation. It was compared to the long retention of Calais by the English in former days, and the recovery of it was deemed as essential to the honour of the Spaniards, as that of Calais had been reputed by the French in regard to their own.

The principle plan of action was formed in conformity with this idea, which was warmly adopted throughout Spain, and served, in no small degree, to reconcile the people to a war which was in other respects so much against their real interests. As soon as the rupture with Britain was determined upon at Madrid, the Spanish Court gave immediate orders to General Mendoza, who commanded the forces in the vicinity of Gibraltar, to cut off all communication with that place, and to invest it in the closest manner possible.

While this General blockaded by land, Admiral Barcelo did the same by sea; but notwithstanding his superiority, the British ships of force then in the bay, exerted themselves with so much activity and spirit, as to elude his vigilance on numberless occasions. They took a variety of prizes, and fa-

voured the entrance of thoſe many veſſels, that brought proviſions and neceſſaries to the garriſon.

The victory obtained by Admiral Rodney, and the large ſupplies he had conveyed to the beſieged, were an eſſential encouragement to them, as they now ſaw, that in caſes of neceſſity, they might depend upon relief. This proved no little diſcouragement to the beſiegers, from their loſing the proſpect they had formed of compelling the place to ſurrender through want of neceſſaries.

On the departure of Admiral Rodney, about the middle of February, a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, another of ſixty-four, two frigates of thirty, and two ſloops, remained at Gibraltar. The garriſon conſiſted of four colonels, nine lieutenant-colonels, ſeven majors, fifty-ſix captains, one hundred lieutenants, fifty-four enſigns, three hundred and forty ſerjeants, one hundred and ſeventy drummers, and five thouſand men, rank and file: the artillery and artificers amounted to ſeven hundred.

The chief inconveniency under which the garriſon laboured, was the frequent want of freſh proviſions. It had hitherto been abundantly ſupplied from the coaſt of Barbary; but to whatever cauſes it might be owing, a ſurpriſing and unaccountable alteration had taken place in ſome of the ſtates along that coaſt. The Emperor of Morocco, in particular, had transferred his friendſhip from Great Britain to Spain in a manner wholly unprecedented.—He eſpouſed the cauſe of the latter with a zeal and partiality the more aſtoniſhing, as Britain had given him no provocation, and as the enmity ſubſiſting for ſo many ages between the Spaniards and the Moors, was in a manner conſtitutional, and founded upon cauſes that could never ceaſe to operate.

Such being unfortunately the diſpoſition of theſe neighbours, the condition of the garriſon became daily more diſtreſsful, from the neceſſity of making

uſe of their ſalt proviſions with the ſtricteſt œconomy, and the very great difficulty of procuring freſh.

So great however were the induſtry and reſolution of the Britiſh officers and ſeamen, that in ſpite of all obſtructions, they frequently found means to procure the refreſhments that were wanted, in doing which they were always expoſed to great danger, from the ſtrength and watchfulneſs of the enemy.

In the mean time the defence of the garriſon was ſo vigorous, that while it continued to be ſupplied even in this ſcanty manner, the enemy began to loſe all hope of reducing it. In order to deprive it of this ſupport, they formed the project of burning all the Britiſh ſhipping in the bay of Gibraltar. In the night of the ſixth of June, eighty, favoured by an uncommon darkneſs, ten fire-ſhips ſtood over from the Spaniſh to the Britiſh ſide of the bay. The enemy's deſign was to ſet fire to the ſtore-houſes neareſt the water-ſide, as well as to the ſhipping there, which was at this time conſiderable; but owing to their precipitation in firing their ſhips too ſoon, and to the heavy cannonade with which they were received, the attempt was fruſtrated.—To complete their deſtruction, all the boats belonging to the Britiſh ſhips were manned, and ſent to grapple and tow them off. This ſervice was performed with amazing intrepidity; every one of them being run aſhore.

This was a grievous diſappointment to the Spaniards. Expecting their ſcheme to take the fulleſt effect; the Spaniſh Admiral, Don Barcelo, lay ready with his ſquadron to intercept the Britiſh veſſels that might attempt to eſcape; and the batteries at the enemy's lines were in readineſs to bombard the town, had the fire-ſhips ſucceeded in cauſing any conflagration on ſhore.

The failure of this project was followed by the defeat of many others ſucceſſively. As faſt as the enemy puſhed their works forwards, and conſtructed new batteries, they were conſtantly deſtroyed.—The mortification was the greater on theſe occaſions, as they were uſually permitted to complete their operations before the deſtruction of them took place. Thus the labours of many days were often loſt in a few hours, and the whole to be recommenced with little more proſpect of ſucceſs.

One of the greateſt annoyances, to which the garriſon and ſhipping were equally expoſed, were the Spaniſh gun-boats. They were veſſels from thirty to forty tons burthen; they were conſtructed to lie low on the water, which rendered them difficult to aim at; they carried forty or fifty men, a large ſail, and fifteen oars on a ſide, with a ſix and twenty pounder on the prow. From the facility of managing them, they were adapted to a multiplicity of uſes, and in calm weather two of them were deemed a match for a moderate frigate. The want of ſome veſſels of the ſame conſtruction, ſubjected the people at Gibraltar to great inconveniencies.

The obſtinate reſiſtance maintained by the garriſon of this fortreſs, was very alarming to the Court of Spain, which had promiſed itſelf a ſpeedy reduction of it, from the difficulty of ſupplying it with neceſſaries, in the midſt of the impediments that muſt ariſe from the ſuperiority acquired by the combination of the French and Spaniſh navies.—But experience was daily ſhowing that this ſuperiority had more of appearance than reality; and that notwithſtanding the parade of numbers, the fleets of Great Britain ſtil maintained the honour of their flag, and inſtead of remaining on the defenſive, were buſily occupied in attacking their enemies in every quarter.

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Another object of no lefs alarm was the feeble condition of the finances of both France and Spain, the latter efpecially. The treafure fhe had received from her American dominions, previous to her making part with the former had been exhaufted by the vaft expences fhe had incurred in order to make a figure in the confederacy correfponding with her dignity and importance. This treafure being the irregular produce of a revenue long in arrear, and not being fucceeded by equal remittances, the projects to which it gave birth and fupport while it lafted, could not be purfued with the fame vigour after it had been expended.

From the fanguine profpect that had been formed by the Houfe of Bourbon of fpeedily accomplifhing the defigns they had in view, they had engaged in fuch a multiplicity of enterprizes, as demanded much larger fums to carry them into execution than they had imagined would be neceffary. Relying upon a quicker termination of the conteft than what they now experienced, their calculations had been framed according to this expectation, and, of confequence, fell fhort of what they found at prefent would be requifite to enable them to proceed.

In France it was foreſeen, that the people at large coinciding with the meafures of the Court in favour of America, the difficulty would, of courfe, be lefs in procuring pecuniary fupplies from them than in Spain, where the nation was duly fenfible that the humiliation of Great Britain, was by no means a defirable object to the Spanifh monarchy; and that conſanguinity excepted, the Court of France had no claims of amity upon that of Spain, which had already fuffered fufficiently from ſo unpolitical an alliance.

The deficiency of the public funds was ſo great in this latter kingdom, that the government was

obliged to make application to the cities, towns, corporations, and all monied people, to relieve its exigencies. It was represented to them, that the public honour of the realm was at ſtake in the preſent conteſt with Great-Britain; and that it would be highly diſgraceful to abandon a confederacy wherein its faith was ſolemnly engaged.

Through exhortations of this nature, and the deep-rooted attachment and veneration the Spaniards are known to profeſs for the perſons of their kings, they concurred with great zeal in contributions for the ſervice of the Crown. Immenſe ſums were raiſed in this manner upon individuals of all orders and denominations. The Spaniſh clergy acted with uncommon liberality upon this occaſion, and many of the principal dignitaries of the church ſet an example, which, in a country ſo much under eccleſiaſtic influence, was of univerſal efficacy.

This conformity with the views of the Court was the more remarkable, as the diſpoſitions of the people in Spain began about this time to be more favourable towards the Britiſh nation than had been cuſtomary among them. The kind treatment which their officers and other individuals continually met with from thoſe of Great-Britain, whenever the chance of war threw them into their hands, had of late awakened a ſenſe of eſteem and benignity for theſe, which operated very powerfully in their behalf; and ſet them in the light of a generous and reſpectable enemy. Ideas of this kind, together with the conviction that Spain was acting againſt its intereſt in the proſecution of this war, wrought no ſmall diminution in the warmth with which the community concurred in forwarding the views of their Sovereign.

In France itſelf, notwithſtanding the revenue was upon a much more ſecure and advantageous footing, the neceſſities of the public were become ſo preſſing,

preſſing, that in order to avoid thoſe diſcontents and murmurs that would follow from laying additional taxes upon a people already loaded as heavily as they could with patience bear, it was found indiſpenſable to abolish a great number of places and offices in ſeveral public departments. This was deemed a ſevere enforcement of œconomy, the abolition extended to no leſs than four hundred; but the times called ſo urgently for this ſacrifice of private to public intereſt, that the feelings ariſing from the hard caſe of ſuch a number of individuals as were diſmiſſed from their ſtations, were ſuperſeded by the conſideration of the abſolute neceſſity of the meaſure.

Theſe retrenchments proved, however, unanſwerably the ſtrefights to which the French miniſtry were reduced. Other methods appeared practicable with any propriety at the preſent ſeaſon, they would undoubtedly have been adopted in a ſtate where the grandeur of the Crown, with the conſequent ſupport of all who contribute to its luſtre, has always been the invariable object of thoſe who were at the head of affairs. It is highly improbable, therefore, they would have departed from maxims long become fundamental in its very conſtitution, had they not been compelled to it by the circumſtances of the times.

In this ſituation was the Houſe of Bourbon at the commencement of the year eighty. Notwithſtanding the misfortune that had befallen Spain in the capture and deſtruction of the ſquadron under Admiral Langara, it was judged incumbent on both kingdoms to preſerve that appearance of ſtrength which they had at firſt diſplayed. For this reaſon a junction was formed of the French and Spaniſh fleets, in the ſame manner as it had

taken place the preceding year, though with a vaſt inferiority of force.

Great-Britain was taking meaſures, on the other hand, to face the combined fleets. Admiral Geary, a very brave and experienced officer, was now at the head of the Britiſh fleet, in the room of Sir Charles Hardy, who was lately dead. He ſailed with thirty-ſhips of the line in queſt of the enemy, who were cruiſing on the coaſt of Portugal. In the beginning of July he fell in with a large number of merchantmen returning from the Weſt Indies, of which a dozen were captured; the reſt eſcaped, through the hazineſs of the weather.

The main body of the combined fleet was at this time ſpread over a vaſt extent of ſea, in that tract uſually held by the ſhipping bound to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. A fleet for each of theſe deſtinations ſailed from Portſmouth at the cloſe of July. The ſhips bound to the Eaſt-Indies were five in number. They carried a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and artillery, for the uſe of the Britiſh forces, and of naval ſtores for the men of war on that ſtation. Of thoſe bound to the Weſt-Indies, eighteen were veſſels in the ſervice of Government, laden with proviſions and neceſſaries for the troops in thoſe parts, together with recruits. The remainder were merchantmen. They were eſcorted by a ſhip of the line and three frigates.

In the night of the eighth of Auguſt, they happened to fall in with that diviſion of the combined fleet which was commanded by the Spaniſh Admiral Don Louis de Cordova. Unfortunately miſtaking his top lights for thoſe of their own convoy, they bore after him, and did not diſcover their error till morning, when it was too late to rectify it. They were quickly environed by the enemy.

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The man of war and frigates escaped, with a few others; but the major part were taken, to the amount of above fifty, including the East-Indiamen.

The principal detriment occasioned by this capture was the loss of seamen and troops, and of the supplies that were so much needed in those places for which they were intended. The number of prisoners amounted to about two thousand seven hundred sailors and soldiers, near one hundred officers, and about two hundred passengers of both sexes.

The loss of so large and valuable a fleet, was a heavy blow in the midst of so many difficulties and trials of every denomination. The news of it was received with the highest discontent. Loud comments were made of the imprudence of trusting such immense property to so slight a convoy, especially when the enemy was known to be on the watch. The course it had held was also represented as improper and rash; and those who had advised it were found the more culpable, as the end proposed by it, which was to take in wines at Madeira, was unworthy of being put into consideration with the certainty of the peril, and the importance of the other objects that were to be answered.

The dissatisfactions at home were farther increased by the melancholy reflection on that averseness to the service which kept some of the best officers in the navy unemployed at a time when their professional abilities were so much wanted. It was with much difficulty an officer could be found to supply the vacancy of Admiral Geary, on his resignation of the command in chief of the fleet. The great merit of Admiral Barrington, who had been his second, procured him the offer; but he declined it; generously, however, signifying his willingness to assist in the same rank as before. On

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his refuſal, Admiral Darby was inveſted with the ſupreme command.

During theſe tranſactions in Europe, the French and Spaniſh commanders in America were exerting their whole power against the poſſeſſions of Great Britain in theſe parts. The ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms under General Galvez, in Weſt Florida, induced him to renew his attempts in order to ſubdue the remainder of that province.

Notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the force remaining to defend it, the vigorous reſiſtance he had experienced in his former expedition, rendered him very cautious how he proceeded upon a ſecond, till he had received ſuch a reinforcement as would enſure the reduction he propoſed.

Having collected all the ſtrength of which he was maſter at New Orleans, he ſailed from thence towards Mobile, the principal Britiſh ſettlement in Weſt Florida next to Penſacola. It was at that time in a very feeble condition. The garriſon of the fort, a place in no very great ſtate of defence, conſiſted of about two hundred ſoldiers and ſailors, and fifty of the inhabitants.

The paſſage of the Spaniſh forces from New Orleans was impeded by a variety of difficulties. The navigation along ſhore was tedious and intricate, from the perpetual ſhoals and ſhallows in their way, at the mouths of the many rivers that diſcharge themſelves into that part of the Gulf of Mexico. They were aſſailed with frequent ſtorms, by which the veſſels were ſhattered, and ſeveral of them driven aſhore; the people on board, to the number of eight hundred, narrowly eſcaping with their lives.

The intelligence of this diſaſter was highly exaggerated to the Britiſh troops and ſettlers; thoſe who had been ſhipwrecked were repreſented as having utterly periſhed; and in conſequence of this

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loſs, they were told the enterprize had been wholly abandoned. This had the effect of diminiſhing the precautions that were taking againſt an attack.

The Spaniſh General, however, perſevering in his deſign, had the good fortune to ſurmount all obſtacles, and to effect his landing within a few miles of Mobile, with a conſiderable reinforcement of ſhipping, troops, military ſtores, and proviſions.

Captain Durnford, of the corps of engineers, made the beſt defence which his circumſtances would admit; but the enemy's batteries having made a breach fully practicable for an aſſault, as he ſaw they were preparing to make one immediately, and expected at the ſame time no relief, he judged it neceſſary to ſurrender the fort, together with the garriſon, as priſoners of war. This event took place on the tourteenth of March, eighty.

The loſs of this place, though of no great conſideration, was attended with the more regret, as General Campbell, on the firſt information of the ſiege, haſtened with all expedition to its aſſiſtance. His van was arrived within ſight of the enemy at every time the capitulation was ſigned, and they were preparing to take poſſeſſion of the fort. But the Governor was totally unapprized of his approach: being an officer of known courage, it was not doubted he would have held out, at all hazards, had the leaſt notice of this been conveyed to him.

While the Spaniſh arms were thus employed in Weſt Florida, an expedition was projected and carried on from Jamaica, under the direction of General Dalling, to St. John's Fort, ſituated on the Muſquito ſhore. The officer entruſted with the command of the troops on this enterprize, was Captain Poſſon. Arriving at the river on which the fort was ſituated, he found as many obſtructions to encounter from the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate,

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as from the reſiſtance of the enemy. From the twentieth of March, when the Britiſh troops entered that river, to the thirtieth of April, when they took poſſeſſion of the fort by capitulation, they endured every hardſhip accruing from the nature of a country peculiarly inimical to European conſtitutions, with little intermiſſion from the moſt deſtructive labour in the proſecution of this arduous undertaking.

The fatigue they underwent was attended with particular diſcouragement, from the circumſtances of the ſeaſon. The rains, periodical in that part of the world were ſet in with their uſual violence. In the intervals of their ceſſation, the intenſe heat of the ſun occaſioned ſuch exhalations from the woods on the banks of the river, as were unſufferable, and rendered the rainy weather preferable to the fair.

From theſe cauſes the expedition was attended with a conſiderable loſs of men, though it proved highly honourable to the Britiſh arms, from the reſolution and perſeverance with which the troops and ſeamen, in emulation of each other, overcame ſo many obſtacles and hardſhips, and accompliſhed the deſign propoſed.

During theſe operations on the ſouthern continent, the hoſtilities which had been partly ſuſpended through the ſeverity of the winter, in the northern parts of America, were now again reſumed. While Sir Henry Clinton was on his return from Charleſtown to New York, the commanders in that city, at the head of five or ſix thouſand men, croſſed over into the Province of Jerſey, in hope of ſurprizing ſome detached parts of the American army. Suſpecting their deſign, the American militia aſſembled in great numbers, and way-laid them on their march, making occaſional ſtands wherever the nature of the ground was favourable, and keeping

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a conſtant fire upon the troops from every quarter. They could not, however, prevent them from advancing into the country, as far as a ſettlement called the Connecticut Farms. Here the Americans took poſt in the houſes, from whence they galled the troops on their march. The conſequence was, that the troops, in order to diſlodge them, ſet the houſes on fire.

What rendered the deſtruction of this place the more remarkable, was the unhappy fate of a clergyman's lady, who was ſhot dead in her houſe.—As it could not be aſcertained from which of the two parties this accident proceeded, they both charged each other with it. But however it may have happened, it proved a circumſtance highly injurious to the Britiſh troops, from the conviction ap[illegible] their enemies that they were the perpetrators, and greatly contributed to encreaſe that odium in which they were held by the Americans.

In the mean time, a body of Continental regulars coming up to the ſupport of the militia, they poſted themſelves at a bridge leading to the town of Springfield. Here a ſkirmiſh enſued, which laſted ſeveral hours. But the Britiſh commanders receiving intelligence that large detachments from the American army were in motion towards them, and that other troops were advancing from all ſides, they thought it moſt adviſable to retire, as the deſign of ſurprizing the enemy was thereby fruſtrated.

They were followed with great eagerneſs in their retreat, and a regiment which compoſed their rear-guard was attacked with great fury; but the enemy could make no impreſſion upon it, and after a long conteſt, were compelled to give way with precipitation. Theſe various ſkirmiſhes happened between the ſixth and ninth of June, eighty.

As the Britiſh party was in poſſeſſion of Elizabeth-town, on the Jerſey ſhore, Sir Henry Clin-

ton, who was now returned, projected another attack upon Springfield. To this purpose, a feint was made by the shipping, of a design against the American posts on the North River, in order to draw the attention of General Washington to that side, and thereby make an effectual diversion in favour of the intended attack.

As soon as it was found that the feint had succeeded, and occasioned that General to move with all speed to the protection of his posts in the highlands, the British forces advanced immediately towards Springfield, intending to penetrate to those parts of Jersey where the stores and magazines of the Americans were lodged, in order to destroy them, and to occupy, if it were practicable, some of the strong holds where the enemy had so oft retreated for security.

On the twenty-third of June, at five in the morning, the British party, in number about five thousand, besides a body of cavalry, and a train of artillery, marched from Elizabeth-town to Springfield. The force left by General Washington for the defence of that place, and of the passes in the mountains, at the foot of which it was situated, was commanded by General Greene, a very resolute and sagacious officer. The bridge leading to the town was guarded by a chosen body of marksmen, who maintained their post with great vigour and obstinacy. After a warm dispute, the bridge was carried, and the enemy compelled to retire to their main-body; but it was so strongly posted in the defiles and high grounds overlooking the post that had been forced, that it was judged inexpedient to attack them in such a situation. During the contest of this day, the town of Springfield was unhappily destroyed.

The impracticability of forcing the enemy in the strong fastnesses of which he was now possessed induced the British forces to retire to their post

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at Elizabeth-town. They were closely followed; but their retreat was so compact and orderly, that the efforts made to annoy them were wholly fruitless.

In the mean time, all the attempts of the British army at New York had made no impression of any consequence, and each party continued on a footing of equality in the middle provinces, the Americans began to recover from the alarm which the loss of Charlestown had created. The intelligent among them were very industrious in pointing out the advantages resulting from that separation of the British forces which was necessarily occasioned by the expeditions now carried on in the southern provinces, a much greater facility was thereby acquired of frustrating the enterprizes of the army at New York, and the diminution of its numbers would open the way to a successful attack upon that city, as soon as the succours should arrive which had been solemnly promised, and were daily expected from France.

Warm exhortations were made on this occasion to the public by the Congress, and principal persons at the head of American affairs. They repeated the various arguments so often urged in favour of the independence they had so valiantly maintained, and called upon them, by every motive that could animate them, to act with spirit and promptitude against the designs of Great Britain.

In order to stimulate more effectually the exertions of all classes, and to procure them effectual encouragement, the leading men had recourse to two expedients, which proved of great utility.—The first was the opening of subscriptions for the relief of the private soldiers in the American army, and for an augmentation of their pay. This fund soon became the more considerable, as it was patronised in a distinguished and very liberal manner by General Washington's Lady, whose example

was

was quickly followed by ample donations from all the women of rank in the United States.

The ſecond was the inſtitution of a bank at Philadelphia, the chief intent of which was to ſupply the army with all neceſſaries. To obtain caſh the more readily, the managers of this bank were empowered to iſſue notes, and to borrow money at the rate of ſix per cent. to the lenders. The ſubſcribers to the bank were ninety-ſeven in number, and their ſubſcription amounted to the ſum of three hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds, Pennſylvania currency.

While the attention of Congreſs was taken up with theſe arrangements, the long expected ſuccours arrived at length from France at Rhode Iſland, on the eleventh of July, eighty. They conſiſted of one ſhip of the line of eighty-four guns, and twelve hundred men; two of ſeventy-four, and ſeven hundred men; and four of ſixty-four, and ſix hundred men. They were accompanied by four frigates, one of forty and three of thirty-ſix guns, beſides armed veſſels and tranſports, on board of which were five regiments of the beſt troops on the French eſtabliſhment, with a battalion of artillery.

This ſquadron was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, well known by his expedition to Newfoundland, at the cloſe of the preceding war. The land-forces were under the Count de Rochambeau, a Lieutenant-General.

Theſe ſuccours, which were a convincing proof that France meant to aſſiſt them in the moſt effectual manner, revived the hopes of the Americans in the higheſt degree. They now conſidered themſelves as completely relieved from all future apprehenſions on the part of Great Britain, and began to look forward to a ſpeedy and total deliverance from the calamities they had endured, by an entire expulſion of the Britiſh armies from the continent of America.

The

The people of Rhode Iſland gave the French the kindeſt reception they were able. They congratulated their commander in the warmeſt terms of attachment and reſpect for the monarch and the nation that had ſent him to their aſſiſtance. The anſwer they received was no leſs acceptable. They were told that what they had ſeen was only the vanguard of a far greater force deſtined for their aid. As a particular motive of ſatisfaction, they were informed the French troops ſhould act under the orders of General Waſhington, and obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline.

The arrival of the French ſuccours occaſioned a remarkable circumſtance in General Waſhington's camp.—Hitherto the Americans had worn blue cockades; they were now directed to wear black and white intermixed, by way of denoting the unanimity ſubſiſting between the French and American nations.

The French Admiral, Monſieur de Ternay, being apprized of the ſmall naval force at New York under Admiral Arbuthnot, conſiſting only of four ſhips of the line, prepared directly to attack it; but when he was on the point of ſailing, he was informed that a reinforcement of ſix ſail of the line was arrived at that place. This at once broke the meaſures he had planned, and the Americans had the mortification of ſeeing him blocked up by the British fleet.

To ſecond the meaſures of Admiral Arbuthnot, Sir Henry Clinton embarked a body of ſix thouſand ſelect troops, in order to make a deſcent on Rhode Iſland. But on receiving intelligence of this motion, General Waſhington marched from his encampment towards New York, with a reſolution to attack it in Sir Henry Clinton's abſence. Preparations were made for this purpoſe, and the American army was reinforced from all quarters, in ex-

pectation of its taking place. But on a clofe inſpection and conſideration of the ſtrength now ſtationed at Rhode Iſland, the enterprize was laid aſide, as highly unadviſable. Upwards of twelve thouſand American troops had joined the French; and every place in Rhode Iſland, where a deſcent was practicable, had been fortified in ſuch a manner, as to render an attempt of that nature too dangerous to be undertaken with ſo ſmall a force as that which had been propoſed.

During theſe tranſactions, a feat of bravery was performed which reflected the higheſt honour on thoſe who were concerned in it. A body of American Refugees, to the number of about ſeventy, had taken poſt on the ſhore of the North River, oppoſite to New York. They had erected a block-houſe, to ſecure themſelves from any ſudden incurſions of the enemy.

A corps of near two thouſand Americans, headed by General Wayne, made an attack upon them, with ſeven pieces of cannon. Notwithſtanding a cannonade of three hours, almoſt every ſhot of which penetrated through the block-houſe, and an attempt to carry the place by aſſault, they were repulſed, with the loſs of many killed and wounded. On their retreat they were purſued; their ſtragglers were ſeized, and the cattle retaken of which they had plundered the neighbourhood.

While France was ſending ſuccours to America, Spain was exerting itſelf in order to give a decided ſuperiority to the Houſe of Bourbon in the Weſt Indies. Towards the cloſe of April eighty, a ſquadron of twelve ſail of the line, commanded by Don Joſeph Solano, a very brave officer, ſailed from Cadiz, with above eighty tranſports, on board of which were embarked near twelve thouſand men.

This great land force was intended for an invaſion of the iſland of Jamaica; previous to which at-

tempt the men of war had orders to join the French fleet, and aſſiſt in attacking the Britiſh naval force in the Weſt Indies.

On the Spaniſh ſquadron's approach to theſe latitudes, Admiral Rodney, to whom intelligence of it had been conveyed, put to ſea from Barbadoes, where he was refitting his fleet, and taking in water and proviſions, in order to intercept the Spaniards before they could effect a junction with the French.

But the Spaniſh commander, unwilling to commit the charge he was entruſted with to any danger, as ſoon as he drew near to the iſlands, diſpatched a ſwift ſailing veſſel to Martinico, to inform M. de Guichen of his arrival, and to requeſt he would join him with all ſpeed.

The French Admiral's fleet had been ſo ſhattered in the late engagements with Sir George Rodney, that he had no more than eighteen ſhips in readineſs for ſervice. He ſailed with theſe to the aſſiſtance of Don Solano, whom he found at Dominico. The combined fleets on their junction amounted to thirty-ſix ſhips of the line.

With this naval ſtrength, and the formidable land force that accompanied it, it was much to be apprehended, that notwithſtanding the valour and ſkill of the Britiſh officers and ſeamen, their inferiority of force, muſt have given way, and the enemy have proved irreſiſtible. Fortunately for Britain, her people were not put to the ſevere trial that was expected.

The multitudes with which the Spaniſh tranſports were crouded, conſiſting of men quite unuſed to the ſea, as well as to the climate, and manner of living to which they were now compelled, complaints and diſorders broke out among them, which quickly became contagious, and of ſo malignant a nature, as to carry off vaſt numbers. They were obliged to put aſhore at Dominico twelve hundred

of their ſick, and as many more at Guadaloupe and Martinico. The infection ſpread to the French fleet and forces, among whom it cauſed a conſiderable mortality. To this diminution of their ſtrength it was owing that they did not think it adviſable to attempt the execution of the commiſſions with which they were charged.

After tarrying ſome time at the French iſlands, the Spaniſh Admiral proceeded to Hiſpaniola, whither he was attended by Monſieur de Guichen, and from thence to the Havannah, in order to refit his ſhips and refreſh his men.

Thus ended, for the preſent, the projects concerted between the French and Spaniards againſt the Britiſh iſlands. The diſappointment was the greater, as the French had made conſiderable preparations to this intent, and were not wanting to complain, that notwithſtanding the loſſes incurred through illneſs, the Spaniards were not ſo deficient in numbers as to juſtify their abandoning the deſigns upon which they were ſent. Through ſurmiſes of this kind, no ſmall diſcontents aroſe among the French, and they began to look upon the Spaniards as too dilatory an ally to co-operate effectually againſt ſo reſolute and active an enemy as the Engliſh.

In the mean time, Sir George Rodney lay with his fleet at St. Lucia, from whence he kept a watchful eye on the enemy's motions; intending, ſhould they proceed to attack any of the iſlands, to throw every impediment in their way which his ſituation would admit. Here he was joined by Commodore Walſingham, with ſome ſhips of the line from England, and troops for Jamaica. On the departure of the French and Spaniſh fleets from Martinico, he followed them immediately with all the ſhips under his command, till finding they had no intentions againſt Jamaica, he returned to his former ſtation,

tion of that iſland, together with the troops deſtined for that purpoſe.

The firſt part of the plan concerted between the Courts of Verſailles and Madrid being fruſtrated, the ſecond ſtill remained undecided. Notwithſtanding the failure of the former, it ſeemed to ſtand a fair chance of being carried into execution. The inaction that had, through various accidents, attended the French and Spaniſh forces in the Weſt Indies, was not apprehended in North America, where no cauſes of the ſame nature were likely to operate.

This latter part of the ſcheme conſiſted in a vigorous attack on the Britiſh fleet and army at New York, by the united forces of France and America. The troops under Count de Rochambeau were to form a junction with thoſe under General Waſhington, whoſe army was now encreaſed to twenty thouſand men, from the eagerneſs with which it had been reinforced by recruits and volunteers from all parts. The ſquadron under the Chevalier de Ternay, was to be joined by the fleet commanded by Count de Guichen. Thus the combined army of France and America would amount to near thirty thouſand regulars, and the naval force to upwards of thirty ſail of the line; a ſtrength which that of Great Britain on the American continent would not be able to counteract, as it was too far divided and ſcattered to be collected in ſufficient time for reſiſtance.

Excluſive of this general plan, an expedition was intended againſt Canada, which was to be conducted by the Marquis de la Fayette. A body of near ten thouſand men was aſſigned to this undertaking, and actually on their march towards that province.—An addreſs to the French inhabitants was alſo framed by that nobleman upon this occaſion: they

terms of their origin, and the natural motives that called upon them to join a people in alliance with their mother country. They were ſeverely threatened, if they refuſed to unite with them, and ſhould oppoſe the progreſs of the American arms.

In order to encourage their own people, and impreſs at the ſame time their allies and well-wiſhers with a great opinion of their internal ſtrength, a liſt of the American forces was publiſhed by the authority of Congreſs. It entered into a very minute and particular detail of every circumſtance that could give it authenticity and full credit. The numbers of men in every regiment, the names of their colonels, the places where they were ſtationed, were all carefully ſpecified. By this liſt it appeared that the American army conſiſted of one hundred and forty-eight regiments of infantry, amounting to one hundred and fifteen thouſand men; nine regiments of artillery, making three thouſand; three regiments of huſſars, near two thouſand; and the ſame number of horſe and dragoons. Beſides theſe, which were regular troops in conſtant pay, the numbers of the militia in the ſeveral provinces were little leſs than four hundred thouſand. The fact was reſpecting theſe latter, that almoſt every fencible man throughout the continent was included in the liſt.

In addition to theſe preparations and diſplay of ſtrength, they had recourſe to thoſe other methods which they had always found of eſſential efficacy on critical emergencies; theſe were exhortations and remonſtrances to the public on the duty and the neceſſity incumbent upon them, to act with ſpirit and fortitude in order to ſurmount the difficulties of their ſituation.

The addreſs that was penned upon this occaſion by the ſupreme executive council of Pennſylvania, was remarkably warm and animated, and was

circulated throughout the continent with prodigious effect. It represented with great fervour the opportunity now offered, by a concurrence of auſpicious circumſtances, of putting a deciſive period to the war, by a vigorous exertion of their united ſtrength. It pointed out the various circumſtances that made ſucceſs probable; it laid before them the danger of letting ſo favourable an opportunity eſcape, and reminded them of the ſufferings they had undergone in ſupport of a cauſe which it was now in their power to render completely victorious.

Such, indeed, was the univerſal perſuaſion of the Americans, when, to their utter aſtoniſhment, intelligence came that Count de Guichen was ſailed for France. That commander, however he might be deſirous to co-operate in an enterprize from which ſo much glory, in caſe of ſucceſs, would have accrued, was not in circumſtances to bear any part in it. His fleet was in ſo diſabled a condition, from his repeated engagements with Admiral Rodney, and his people ſo ſickly, that he found it abſolutely neceſſary to give up this project, and to return to France with all the ſpeed he was able.

He ſailed accordingly from the Weſt Indies with a large fleet of merchant-men under his convoy.—The conſciouſneſs of the weak ſtate of his ſhips, induced him to ſteer for Cadiz, to avoid meeting with the Britiſh fleet. On his arrival at that port, at the end of October, he was joined by Count D'Eſtaing with eighteen ſail of the line. He brought the ſame number with him; but though their united force now conſiſted of thirty-ſix line of battle ſhips, they did not think it ſafe to put to ſea without further reinforcements. For that reaſon a numerous ſquadron of Spaniſh men of war accompanied them to the latitude of Cape Finiſterre.

The Britiſh fleet was at this time cruizing in the Bay of Biſcay, under Admiral Darby. It was ſo

inferior in point of numbers to that of the enemy, that being wholly unapprized of the feeble condition of their ſhipping, it was judged unadviſable to attack them. It kept, however, conſtantly in their ſight, watching all their motions, and determined to make the moſt reſolute defence if attacked.—This conduct did the higheſt honour to the nation throughout all Europe, as it proceeded inconteſtibly from the greatneſs of its courage and ſpirit, the commanders being entirely ignorant of the real circumſtances of the enemy.

As ſoon as Admiral Rodney was informed of M. de Guichen's departure from his ſtation at Hiſpaniola, conjecturing that his deſtination was for New York, he ſet ſail directly for that place with eleven of his beſt ſhips, and arrived there about the middle of September.

Previous to his arrival, Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves had kept ſo vigilant an eye on the French ſquadron in Rhode Iſland, that it had not dared to venture out of that harbour. The French forces ſtationed there were now wholly occupied in ſtrengthening the iſland, and preparing to defend themſelves, inſtead of executing any offenſive operations.

Other diſcouraging events had alſo taken place; ſeven large American privateers, and a French frigate, had been brought into New York, beſides a number of other captures.

The arrival of ſo ſtrong a reinforcement to the Britiſh naval power, was an object of equal ſurprize and concern to the Americans. It renewed the diſappointment they had felt on the failure of the expectations they had formed from the Count de Guichen. They now ſaw a total defeat of the ſcheme upon which they had founded the completion of all their hopes. What alarmed them ſtill more, they foreſaw little probability that ſo auſpicious an op-

Portunity would ever befal them as that which they had expected. They were now experimentally convinced that it depended upon the concurrence of too many fortuitous circumſtances to be relied upon.

Such a repetition of diſappointments from the ſame quarter, could not fail to bring the alliance with the French into much diſrepute. Inſtead of that expeditious ruin which they were continually threatening to the Britiſh affairs in North America and the Weſt Indies, they had ſucceeded in neither. Their fleets, though ſuperior in numbers, ſeemed to make it their buſineſs to act on the defenſive; and on the continent they had been foiled in the only attempt they had made in favour of the Americans.

CHAP. LVI.

Tranſactions in the Neighbourhood of New York.—Operations of the Forces under Lord Cornwallis.

1780.

THE duration of the American war was now become equally a cauſe of diſcontent to both the parties principally concerned. Five years of toil and ſuffering were now elapſed, without producing any well-founded hope of ſeeing a ſpeedy termination of this deſtructive quarrel. Notwithſtanding the fair expectations ariſing from the ſeveral untoward events that had befallen the Britiſh arms, ſtill the conteſt continued, on their part, with unabated ſpirit, and with no ſmall degree of ſucceſs. The conſtancy of the Americans, on the other ſide, was no leſs remarkable, in ſubmitting to the various hardſhips they had undergone. It was in every reſpect a reciprocal trial of courage and perſeverance; and was by both parties carried on with a degree of reſolution and obſtinacy adequate to its importance.

The acceſſion of France and Spain to the cauſe of America, had, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, produced nothing deciſive. The exertions of Great Britain had, on the contrary, been ſuch as to meet their attacks in every quarter on a footing of equality, and to keep the fortune of war in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe that was little expected from either friend or foe.

In this uncertain ſituation of public affairs, the attention of all parties was ſuddenly taken up by one of thoſe ſingular events which are not unuſually

the refult of uncommon occurrences in the courfe of human affairs.

General Arnold, whofe eminent fervices to the Americans, and great military talents, had procured him fo much reputation, had been appointed Governor of Philadelphia, on the evacuation of that city by the Britifh army, in the fummer of feventy-eight. His conduct in that ftation was made a fubject of fevere cenfure, and he had the misfortune to incur the ill-will of feveral perfons, who repre-fented him in very injurious colours.

The commiffioners who were appointed to examine the accounts on which the complaints againft him were founded, having rejected feveral of the charges and demands they contained, he had applied to Congrefs for a revifion; but the committee whom they deputed for this purpofe, having approved the rejections of the commiffioners, the General was highly incenfed, and expreffed his diffatisfaction in terms that proved extremely offenfive to Congrefs, and laid him open to much enmity and refentment.

A court-martial was held in confequence of the complaints brought againft him; the refult of which was, a reprehenfion of his conduct, conceived in general terms, and an order that he fhould be reprimanded by General Waffhington. His enemies, however, were not fatisfied with this fentence, which they faid was dictated by a regard for his former fervices.

General Arnold vindicated himfelf, on the other hand, with the greateft warmth. Conficious of the importance of what he had done for his country, he confidered himfelf as ill repaid, and openly declared that he had been treated with injuftice and ingratitude.

His enemies, however, were no lefs eager in difparaging him. They fucceeded fo far

in a great meaſure the vaſt popularity he had ſo juſtly acquired. This was a loſs he felt moſt heavily, and complained of with much bitterneſs.

Such was the ſituation of General Arnold when the failure of the expectations held out on the part of France, brought about an alteration of circumſtances in General Waſhington's army, which induced him to have recourſe to every expedient, in order to ſupply the defection of thoſe numbers that left him upon this occaſion. The moſt obvious one was to call in the aſſiſtance of thoſe upon whoſe abilities he could beſt rely in this arduous conjuncture. Among theſe none held a higher rank than General Arnold. He was accordingly called forth, and employed in the command of a poſt of the greateſt importance, that of Weſt Point, on the North River, where a very conſiderable diviſion of the American forces was placed under his orders.

It was in this poſition that General Arnold took the determination to abandon the ſervice of Congreſs, and to deliver up the poſt he commanded to Sir Henry Clinton. To this purpoſe a negociation was entered into with the Britiſh General, which was carried on with great circumſpection and ſecrecy.

As the time of executing the project in agitation drew near, it was judged proper that an interview ſhould previouſly take place between General Arnold and ſome perſon in whoſe honour and fidelity the fulleſt confidence could be depoſited, in order to conclude upon the final arrangements. On this dangerous and trying occaſion, choice was made of Major André, Adjutant-General of the Britiſh army, an officer who ſtood high in the eſteem of Sir Henry Clinton, and whoſe profeſſional merit, and various accompliſhments, had at an early period of life recommended him to univerſal notice and reſpect.

Under an aſſumed name, he privately repaired to General Arnold; from whom having received ſuch communication and papers as related to the buſineſs on which he came, he ſet out upon his return, but was intercepted on the way, and all his papers ſeized.

Information of this was conveyed to General Arnold time enough to enable him to provide for his own ſafety; but Major André was brought before a board of general officers, for an examination of his caſe. After a minute inveſtigation of every circumſtance relative to it, he was adjudged a ſpy, and ſentenced to death.

The behaviour of Major André, on his examination, was intrepid and magnanimous in a degree that ſtruck the board with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and admiration. He uſed no arguments or endeavours to palliate the facts that were ſtated againſt him, but frankly acknowledged every circumſtance as it had happened.

Every effort was made by Sir Henry Clinton in order to ſave the life of ſo brave and valuable an officer. All the expoſtulations and reaſonings were uſed that could be adapted to the occaſion, and every motive urged in order to prevail upon General Waſhington to remit the ſentence that had been pronounced upon him. But it was deemed neceſſary by the Americans to adhere to the rigid maxims of war, and all interceſſions or remonſtrances in his behalf were equally vain.

He met his ſevere deſtiny with a courage and manlineſs of behaviour that deeply affected all who were witneſſes of it. Though engaged in a tranſaction, which, had it ſucceeded, would probably have brought inſtant ruin upon the enemy, ſuch was the impreſſion which his character made upon them, that they univerſally lamented his fate.—The officers who had ſigned his condemnation, and

even General Washington testified the sincerest grief at the necessity they declared themselves under of complying with the rigorous usage established in such cases, and could not refrain from tears when the sentence was carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Arnold, on his arrival at New York, was promoted to the same rank in the British, which he had held in the American army, and employed in forming a body of his countrymen to act under his own command. He published an address to the inhabitants of the Colonies, wherein he described with great force the various hardships and miseries under which they laboured; exhorting them, from a multiplicity of motives, to renounce their adherence to Congress, and return to their former union with Britain. He entered into a circumstantial detail and justification of his conduct, reprobating that of Congress in the severest terms, and representing that body as wholly devoted to France, from views of private interest. He invited those Americans who were desirous of putting an end to the calamities of their country, to join the standard of Britain, promising them the same pay and treatment as the British troops.

The representation of the circumstances of America at that time, as contained in General Arnold's address, was strictly consistent with truth. The distresses which prevailed in the several provinces were such, as nothing but an invincible determination to suffer all extremities rather than submit, could have enabled the people to have borne with any patience. The total stagnation of trade, the deprivation of the usual comforts and conveniences, and the exorbitant price of the common necessaries of life, were the loud and encreasing complaint in almost every part of the continent. But that grievance which oppressed them most, and was indeed the foundation of all others, was the prodigious

depreciation of their paper currency; it was now fallen one hundred below par, and was daily ſinking lower.

Under theſe accumulated loads and preſſures of all denominations, the conſtancy and perſeverance of the Americans was an object of no little ſurpriſe. It was eſpecially in their army theſe hardſhips were ſeverely felt; their officers, in particular, were reduced to ſuch mortifying ſtraits, that it was with difficulty they were prevailed upon to continue their ſervices. Numbers had determined to reſign their commiſſions, and reſume the care of their domeſtic concerns, as the only means of preventing the abſolute ruin of their families.

The fact was, that proviſions were the only article with a ſufficiency of which Congreſs was able to ſupply their forces; but, food excepted, the want of every other neceſſary was felt in a very extenſive degree. But the diſtreſs fell chiefly upon the officers, who, in order to maintain a decency of appearance ſuitable to their rank, were obliged to raiſe money at a great loſs.

Frequent applications were made by them to Congreſs, and to thoſe ſtates of which they were the immediate dependents. But notwithſtanding they were continually promiſed redreſs, they ſaw no proſpect of any alleviation to their ſufferings.—They bore them, however, with exemplary patience; and were never tempted by the length of its trial, to have recourſe to any other means of remedy, than ſolicitations founded on the juſteſt reaſons and remonſtrances conceived in the moſt decent terms. This was the more worthy of remark, as they had precedents before them in the military records of other countries, which might have induced them to act in a very different manner, had they not been ſwayed by an uncommon attachment

to ſupport it to the laſt, whatever the conſequences might be.

In the mean time, freſh efforts were uſed to improve the good fortune which Congreſs had experienced in avoiding the deſtruction into which they were ſo near falling. The tardineſs of the ſeveral component parts of the American union in furniſhing their reſpective contingents, was the fundamental cauſe of the difficulties to which their armies were reduced. Great endeavours were made to bring them into a more punctual compliance with the requiſitions of Congreſs in theſe matters; but the general derangement of their finances throughout the continent, was an inſuperable bar to all deſigns of this nature.

In addition to theſe difficulties, another intervened, which aggravated all others, and occaſioned an event which threw the whole continent into the greateſt alarm.

As the term of enliſtment was near expiring with numbers of thoſe who compoſed the principal army, the provinces were ſummoned, of courſe, to ſend their proportion of recruits. But from whatever cauſe it might proceed, ſeveral of them were deficient in their quotas. This excited the greateſt diſſatisfaction, as the ſoldiers whoſe time of ſerving was completed, could not obtain the diſcharge to which they were entitled for want of others to replace them.

This happening at the cloſe of the year, was rendered the more intolerable on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the want of cloathing. The complaints of the ſoldiery were the louder, as they were informed that a ſufficient quantity had long ſince been purchaſed, and lay ready for them, both in France and the Weſt Indies, and that their not receiving it was owing to meer neglect.

Incenſed

Incenſed at ſo long a continuation of hardſhips, a conſiderable body of the army determined to leave the ſervice, until their grievances were fully redreſſed. This body conſiſted of thirteen hundred men belonging to the Pennſylvania line. They demanded the full arrears of their pay, cloathing, and proviſions. They had received none of the two firſt, and but part of the laſt. Some of their officers endeavouring to quell the inſurrection, a riot enſued, in which four of theſe were wounded, and one killed.

The whole body then formed, and marched off with the baggage, artillery, and proviſions belonging to the corps. They were again entreated to deſiſt, and return to their duty; but nô remonſtrances could prevail. They continued their march till the evening, when they encamped in an advantageous poſition. Here they choſe officers out of their own body, and elected commander in chief a ſerjeant-major, who had formerly been a ſoldier in the Britiſh army, giving him the title of major-general.

After three days march, they fixed their quarters at Prince-town, in the Jerſeys. Here a flag of truce followed them; but the only anſwer they would give to the meſſages that were ſent, was that they had ſerved beyond their time, and inſiſted on the arrears due to them, before they would ſerve any longer.

On receiving intelligence of this mutiny in the American army, Sir Henry Clinton loſt no time in his endeavours to derive that utility from it which it ſeemed to promiſe. Three of their countrymen in the Britiſh intereſt, were diſpatched to treat with them upon this occaſion. The propoſals made to them were highly advantageous: they were, on returning to the obedience of the Britiſh government, to enjoy its protection, and receive the full amount

of what was due to them from Congreſs; ſuch as were willing to enter into the Britiſh ſervice, ſhould be entertained on the ſame footing as the other troops; but they were left at liberty in this matter, and the only condition required of them was to lay down their arms, and bear them no more againſt Great Britain.

After making theſe propoſals, and accompanying them with various motives to induce them to compliance, Sir Henry Clinton made ſeveral movements, and ſtationed his troops in ſuch a manner, as to be in readineſs to ſupport the inſurgents, in caſe they ſhould come into his meaſures.

But it was ſoon diſcovered that all his endeavours were vain. Notwithſtanding their diſcontents, the mutineers ſtill continued immoveable in their adherence to the cauſe of America. In order to ſhow at once that their intentions were by no means hoſtile to it, they removed from their quarters at Prince-town to Trenton, on the Delaware, no great diſtance from Philadelphia.

A mutiny pregnant with ſo much danger, could not fail greatly to alarm the Congreſs, and all its friends. The executive council of Pennſylvania addreſſed a letter to the inſurgents, promiſing them in the moſt ſolemn manner, a redreſs of every grievance they complained of, and an immediate gratification of every requeſt that could be complied with.

A favourable anſwer being returned by the inſurgents, a committee, conſiſting of ſeveral members of the Congreſs, was appointed to meet and confer with them at Trenton, where all matters were accordingly ſettled to their entire ſatisfaction. As a proof that they had not ſwerved from their fidelity, notwithſtanding the tempting offers that had been laid before them by the Britiſh commander, they delivered up the agents that had been

employed by him to that purpoſe, who were immediately ordered for execution.

The inſurrection of the Pennſylvania line, was followed by that of the New Jerſey, which was pacified in the ſame manner. Nor did that part of the American army which was under the immediate command of General Waſhington himſelf eſcape the contagion. Having the ſame pretenſions, it was hourly expected that it would make the ſame demands. In ſuch critical circumſtances, he remained in his quarters, without indicating the leaſt intent of moving from them on any pretext. His preſence, and the reſpect and affection for his perſon, though it could not prevent murmurs and diſſatisfaction, contained the ſoldiery within bounds, and prevented them from imitating the example of the reſt.

The moſt ſtriking circumſtance throughout all this tranſaction, was the inflexible averſeneſs ſhown by the American ſoldiers to admit of any interference in their behalf on the part of thoſe they deemed the enemies of their country. It reflected the higheſt honour on their character, and proved, that however their motives might be erroneous, ſtill they acted upon principle.

The ſame inſtance of integrity had happened in the caſe of the unfortunate Major André: his captors were three common ſoldiers of the country militia, whom no promiſes nor allurements could induce to releaſe him.

Theſe proofs of attachment to their party among thoſe who conſtituted the bulk of the people, were adduced, both in England and in America, as ſtrong evidence that it was vain to rely on the diſpoſitions of the multitude at large as friendly to the cauſe of Britain. Wherever the experiment had been tried, it had conſtantly failed. Doubtleſs Britain had many friends among the Coloniſts, but the number,

though great in itſelf, was ſmall in compariſon of its enemies. This opinion, though ſtrongly combated by the Loyaliſts in America, and by thoſe who embraced the miniſterial ſide in England, began to gain ground in both countries more powerfully than ever, and to place the continuation of the conteſt on the part of Britain, in a very unfavourable point of view.

During theſe various proceedings, the Britiſh arms in the Southern Colonies of the American continent, had met with many viciſſitudes of good and ill ſucceſs. The unwholeſomeneſs of the ſeaſon that followed the battle of Camden, was the cauſe of long inaction, and proved at the ſame time no leſs inimical to the troops than hoſtilities themſelves.

Lord Cornwallis employed this interval in ſettling the government, and making further arrangements in South Carolina for the ſuppreſſion of attempts on the part of the diſaffected. The eſtates of ſuch as had joined the enemy, and oppoſed the Britiſh government, were ſequeſtrated by proclamation.

As the enemy was aſſembling on the borders of North Carolina, he judged it expedient to ſend a detachment thither, in order to watch their motions, and counteract them, and to encourage the Loyaliſts, who were numerous in that quarter, to hold themſelves in readineſs to join him, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit him to direct his march to that province.

The officer who commanded the detachment was Colonel Ferguſon, a man of uncommon abilities in thoſe military operations that tend to diſtreſs and haraſs the enemy, by intercepting convoys, ſurprizing parties, and making ſudden attacks and incurſions. His expertneſs, as a markſman, was unrivalled. It was happy for General Waſhington that his perſon was unknown to the Colonel, who

was more than once near enough to have ſingled him out. He uſed, it is ſaid, upon theſe occaſions, a muſket of his own invention, contrived with peculiar art for ſure and expeditious firing.

In purſuance of the orders he had received from Lord Cornwallis, he repaired to the frontiers of North Carolina, at the head of a body of light infantry, conſiſting of men trained under his own direction. He placed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to waylay a corps of Americans who were on their march to join a larger body.

In the mean time, the Provincial troops were collecting from various quarters. They formed, upon their junction, a force much ſuperior to that of the Colonel, who upon diſcovering their ſtrength and intent, thought it adviſable to retreat. But as they were excellently mounted, they overtook him. Finding that an engagement was unavoidable, he poſted himſelf advantageouſly on a high ground, called the King's Mountain, where he waited the approach of the enemy.

They came up with him about four in the afternoon, upon the ſeventh of October. Their ſuperiority in number enabled them to ſurround and attack him on all ſides. After an action that laſted near two hours, he was ſlain, and his troops, after a very brave reſiſtance, were totally defeated. The loſs in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of three hundred; four hundred were made priſoners, and very few eſcaped.

This was a ſevere blow, both from the loſs of men, and of ſo excellent an officer. It elated the Americans in a very uncommon manner.—They had been of late under great deſpondency, from the repeated checks they had received in thoſe parts, but this ſudden turn of fortune ſeemed to promiſe a change in their affairs.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they began ſoon after to form further projects for the total

ſion of the Britiſh forces from theſe parts. General Sumpter, one of their moſt active officers, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of men, proceeded towards the Britiſh poſts in the upper country of South Carolina, with an intent to ſurprize them.—On receiving intelligence of his march, Lord Cornwallis ſent orders to Colonel Tarleton to haſten with all expedition to their relief.

The Colonel was at this time at ſuch a diſtance from the enemy, that they did not imagine it was in his power to arrive in time to prevent them from executing their deſigns. But ſo great was his diligence, that he penetrated through a large extent of country, in which he had ſeveral deep and broad rivers to croſs, and almoſt came up with General Sumpter before he was apprized of his motions.—The American General was preparing to paſs the river Ennoree, when he was informed of Colonel Tarleton's approach. He had hardly time to convey his main-body to the other ſide; but his rear-guard could not eſcape, every man being either killed or taken.

He fled with the utmoſt precipitation.—But Colonel Tarleton purſued him with ſuch rapidity, that he found it neceſſary to halt on the banks of the Tyger, not daring to croſs it with the Britiſh troops preſſing on his rear. He was partly induced to make a ſtand by the information that Colonel Tarleton, in the eagerneſs of his purſuit, had left his infantry ſome miles behind, and that the whole force with him did not amount to three hundred men.

Not doubting to put this handful to the rout before it was joined by the main-body, he drew up his own party, conſiſting of more than a thouſand men, on a very advantageous ground; but Colonel Tarleton, notwithſtanding his inferiority, attacked him, without waiting for the coming up of his peo-

ple, with ſuch aſtoniſhing vigour, that his party was broken, and compelled to croſs the river in the utmoſt confuſion.

In this engagement the Americans loſt a conſiderable number of men: three of their Colonels were killed, and General Sumpter himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. They were cloſely purſued over the river, and their whole body was either deſtroyed or diſperſed.

The ſucceſs of this day added greatly to the reputation of the Britiſh arms, and ſtruck no ſmall damp upon the enemy. The circumſtances of the engagement were ſingular in every reſpect. A thouſand men, well armed, poſted on a ſtrong ground, and covered by ſeveral log-houſes, had been defeated by a body of no more than one hundred and ninety horſe, and eighty foot, without the aſſiſtance of any artillery.

In order to forward the operations of Lord Cornwallis, by cutting off the communication between the middle and the ſouthern provinces, a corps of three thouſand choice troops were diſpatched under the command of General Leſlie, to the Cheſapeak, with orders to occupy thoſe places in its neighbourhood, that were moſt convenient to intercept any ſuccours that might be on their way to the Carolinas.

The troops ſent upon this expedition landed accordingly in ſeveral places in Virginia, where they ſeized or deſtroyed a conſiderable quantity of merchandiſe and ſtores, and made prizes of a great number of veſſels in the various rivers and harbours. But Lord Cornwallis being apprized the intention of Sir Henry Clinton was, that this reinforcement ſhould act entirely according to his orders, directed General Leſlie to repair forthwith to Charleſtown, and to join him with all ſpeed with one half of his force, leaving the other for the

guard of that town, and the ſecurity of the intermediate poſts between it and the army under his command.

This acceſſion of ſtrength enabled Lord Cornwallis to make ſuitable preparations to penetrate into North Carolina towards the cloſe of the year, which was the moſt favourable ſeaſon for military operations.

The arrival of this reinforcement, and the plan propoſed by Lord Cornwallis, were the more alarming to Congreſs, as they were not in condition to provide a ſufficient force at the preſent time to oppoſe him, from the multiplicity of difficulties they had to encounter in a nearer quarter.

The earneſt deſire of General Arnold to ſignaliſe his return to the cauſe and ſtandard of Britain, induced Sir Henry Clinton to place him at the head of a conſiderable detachment, with which he was commiſſioned to make a deſcent in Virginia. He ſailed accordingly from New York with a ſtrong convoy, and landing on the coaſt along the Cheſapeak, did immenſe damage to the enemy in all thoſe parts.

The prodigious deſtruction of military ſtores, and of merchandiſe, upon this occaſion, and the defeat of ſeveral bodies of men, together with the apprehenſion of ſtill worſe conſequences, obliged General Waſhington to diſpatch two thouſand of his beſt troops to the aſſiſtance of the people of Virginia, to which the Count de Rochambeau promiſed to add an equal number of French. The Marquis de la Fayette was appointed to the command of this force.

The French ſquadron was alſo to co-operate.—It had lately ſuffered great loſſes. Three ſhips of ſixty-four guns, detached from Rhode Iſland, in order to intercept ſome ſtore-ſhips going from New York to Charleſtown, failed in their deſign; and on

their return were caſt away. Some of their largeſt frigates had ſhared the ſame fate; and the remainder was in danger of falling into the hands of Admiral Arbuthnot, when they were relieved from their fears by the arrival of a conſiderable reinforcement.

A violent ſtorm happening at this time, wherein a Britiſh ſhip of ſeventy-four guns was loſt, and another of the ſame force diſmaſted, the French ſquadron took this opportunity to ſail from Rhode Iſland, intending to come upon the armament employed in Virginia, before the Britiſh ſquadron had ſufficiently repaired the damages ſuſtained in the preceding ſtorm, to proceed to its aſſiſtance.

In full expectation of ſucceſs, the French had already ſent ſome ſhips of force to the Cheſapeak, with a view of preventing the arrival of any tranſports with reinforcements to the Britiſh troops, and of obtaining an exact information of the reſpective ſituation of both parties. But hearing that ſeveral Britiſh ſhips were on their way to attack them, they withdrew with the utmoſt expedition. On their paſſage back to Rhode Iſland, they fell in with, and captured a Britiſh ſhip of forty-four guns.

In the mean time, as the alarm was daily encreaſing in Virginia, from the enterpriſing ſpirit and rapid movements of General Arnold, it was become neceſſary to make the quickeſt exertions in order to revive the courage of the Virginians. To this intent the French General, Count de Rochambeau, embarked with two thouſand of his ſelecteſt men, and proceeded with the French ſquadron from Rhode Iſland on the eighth of March, eighty-one.

On intelligence of his departure, he was immediately followed by Admiral Arbuthnot, who overtook him off the Capes of Virginia on the ſixteenth. The Britiſh line of battle conſiſted of one ſhip of

ninety guns, three of ſeventy-four, and three of ſixty-four. The French had two ſhips of eighty-four guns, two of ſeventy-four, and three of ſixty-four.

An engagement now took place; in which the French, according to their uſual ſyſtem, avoided as much as poſſible to come into cloſe action. As they kept aloof, only part of the Britiſh ſquadron could fetch them, which occaſioned it to ſuffer much from the great ſuperiority with which it had to contend: on the coming up of the remainder, the French were ſoon broken, and compelled to retire with all ſpeed; but the detriment ſuſtained by thoſe ſhips that had borne the whole weight of their fire was ſuch, that it was found impracticable to purſue them.

But notwithſtanding the retreat of the French ſquadron rendered the victory incomplete, the advantages gained in other reſpects were very deciſive. Admiral Arbuthnot had the ſatisfaction of fruſtrating the whole plan of operations formed by the French and Americans, reſpecting the enſuing campaign in Virginia. The Count de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Rhode Iſland, without daring to make the leaſt attempt to land his troops; and thoſe that were ſent from General Waſhington's army, were blocked up by the Britiſh ſhipping at Annapolis, in Maryland, without being able to proceed to the intended relief of Virginia.

To the further mortification and alarm of the enemy, a ſtrong reinforcement arrived from New York, under the command of General Philips, whoſe junction with General Arnold ſpread the greateſt terror through the whole Province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis was at the ſame time preparing to force his way through North Carolina, and advancing at the head of a conſiderable force towards

the frontiers of that province. The resources of the Congress were in such disorder at the commencement of this year, eighty-one, that they were not able to spare any of the troops belonging to the army in the vicinity of New York, for the relief of the Carolinas, and were compelled to leave them entirely to their own exertions.

In this difficult situation, General Washington was compelled to part with an officer of whose services he then stood in the highest need, and to send him with all expedition to assist them in opposing the progress of the British arms. This was General Greene; whom, next to himself, the Colonies considered as the ablest officer in the American army.

Arriving in North Carolina, he found Lord Cornwallis on his march to the borders of that province, and on the point of entering it. He made the utmost efforts to collect a sufficient force to obstruct his motions; but not finding himself in a condition to face him, he determined to make an attack upon some of the British posts in the upper part of the country, hoping by such means to oblige Lord Cornwallis to desist from his present design, in order to come to their relief.

The post which lay most open to an attempt was that called Ninety-six, which had been fortified, and well garrisoned; but which stood at such a distance from the main-body then with Lord Cornwallis, that General Greene thought it, for that reason, the propereſt object of an immediate attack.

In order to second the efforts of General Greene, he was attended by the most expert partisan among the Continentals: this was the celebrated Colonel Morgan; a man of the greatest personal bravery, and the most distinguished skill in that manner of fighting. He was in the American, what Colonel Ferguson had been in the British army, and had signal-

iſed himſelf upon ſo many occaſions, both againſt the Indians and the Britiſh troops, that he was become a moſt formidable and dangerous enemy.

While General Greene was occupied in attacking the poſt at Ninety-ſix, Colonel Morgan was employed in obſerving the motions of the Britiſh army. To this intent he fixed himſelf near the river Pacolet, with a body of rifle-men and of cavalry, and a number of militia.

Colonel Tarleton was at the ſame time advancing with all ſpeed to the relief of Ninety-ſix. He had orders to clear that part of the country of the American parties that infeſted it, and eſpecially of that under Colonel Morgan. Purſuant to theſe orders, he preſſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he was obliged to retreat haſtily before him, till he was arreſted in his flight by the Broad River, ſo called from its immenſe breadth, and of which the waters were ſo much out by the late periodical falls of rain, that he found it utterly impaſſable in the preſence of an enemy that was now cloſe upon his rear.

In this extremity he reſolved to poſt his men to the beſt advantage, and to put all his abilities to the teſt in the engagement which he now ſaw could no longer be avoided. He was convinced that were he defeated, his whole party muſt either be taken or deſtroyed; and he knew that the ſucceſs of the campaign depended materially on its preſervation. Animated by theſe motives, he made every diſpoſition in his favour which the nature of the ground would admit. He formed his party in two diviſions: the firſt, compoſed of militia, occupied the front of a wood; the ſecond was drawn up in the wood itſelf, and conſiſted of his markſmen and beſt troops.

Colonel Tarleton, upon coming up with the enemy, drew up in two lines; his infantry in the center of each, and his cavalry on the flanks. He

attacked and routed the militia that fronted him, purſuing them into the wood, whither they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

This defeat and purſuit being what Colonel Morgan had expected, he had provided for it accordingly. On the firſt line giving way, he directed the ſecond to open on the right and left, and extend along the wood. The way being thus cleared for thoſe who fled, their purſuers were ſuffered to follow them till they were ſufficiently entangled in the wood for the end propoſed; when on a ſignal given, they were aſſailed on both ſides with the moſt dreadful diſcharge of rifle-pieces from behind the trees, almoſt every ſhot of which took effect. They were inſtantly thrown into the utmoſt diſorder by this unexpected attack from an enemy they had not ſeen. Great part of the infantry was cut to pieces; a regiment that was moſt forward in the purſuit, loſt its colours by the fall of thoſe who carried them; and two pieces of cannon were taken, after a moſt obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance from the artillery company, who were all killed or wounded to a man, fighting in their defence.

Notwithſtanding the day was loſt, Colonel Tarleton exerted himſelf with ſo much reſolution, that he found means, amidſt the confuſion attending the rout of his people, to rally numbers of his cavalry; at the head of theſe he charged the enemy's horſe, put them to flight, and recovered his baggage, which had been ſeized by a body of infantry, moſt of whom were ſlain upon the ſpot. This engagement happened on the ſeventeenth of February, eighty-one.

The ill fortune of this day was in many reſpects deciſive of many ſubſequent events, and was heavily felt during the whole remainder of the campaign. It was in a manner a repetition of the diſaſter that had befallen the brave and unfortunate Colo-

nel Ferguſon, with this only difference, that Colonel Tarleton eſcaped with life, and made a tetreat.

Upon receiving intelligence of this defeat, a body of light troops was diſpatched by Lord Cornwallis with the utmoſt expedition, in order to come up with Colonel Morgan, retake the priſoners he had made, and prevent his junction with General Greene; but ſo quick were the enemy's motions, that they could not be overtaken.

The other forces deſtined to join General Greene being now on their march from Virginia, it became an object of eſſential conſequence to prevent them, as from their acceſſion, his ſtrength would be augmented to ſuch a degree, as to be alarmingly ſuperior to the army of Lord Cornwallis. To enable the Britiſh troops to march with the greater ſpeed, a reſolution was taken at the ſame time to deſtroy all the baggage that could not be ſecured, and that was deemed an unneceſſary incumbrance on the army's motions. Nothing of conſequence was reſerved but what was indiſpenſibly requiſite for the abſolute ſubſiſtence of the troops. A few waggons only were kept for the accommodation of the ſick and wounded, and the tranſportation of ſalt and ammunition. The caſks containing wine and rum were all ſtaved, and they ſet forwards with no other proviſion than as much flour as the men and ſome horſes were able to carry.

The troops ſubmitted to all theſe inconveniencies with admirable temper and patience: they had before them indeed the example of their commander, who notwithſtanding an ill ſtate of health, chearfully partook of all their hardſhips, and was no better provided for than the reſt of his people.

At the head of a ſmall, but brave and reſolute army, prepared and determined to encounter all difficulties, Lord Cornwallis began his march towards the fords of the river Catawba. They were ſo vi-

gilantly guarded by the enemy, that he was obliged to move a great length of way towards its head before a paſſage could be found. Even here his motions were ſo cloſely watched, that he was compelled to make a variety of feints, in order to elude the attention of the enemy.

But they continued to obſerve his movements ſo unremittingly, that he was obliged to riſk the paſſage at a ford five hundred yards wide, where the men waded through the water up to their middle, expoſed to a heavy fire from the enemy poſted on the other ſide; but in ſpite of all obſtacles, they forced their way over, and put the enemy to flight, killing numbers of them, among whom were their commander, General Davidſon, a very valiant man, and ſeveral other officers.

The croſſing of this ford was followed by the total defeat of another body of the enemy aſſembled at ſome miles diſtance, by Colonel Tarleton, at the head of his cavalry. He ſurprized them ſo completely, that they were inſtantly routed, with ſevere execution. This renewed the terror his former exploits had occaſioned, and kept the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts in ſuch awe, that they did not dare to take up arms againſt the Britiſh army on its march, notwithſtanding they were notoriouſly as diſaffected a people as any on the whole continent.

The firſt object in view after croſſing the Catawba, was the purſuit of Colonel Morgan; who on hearing of the Britiſh army's approach, retired before it with the utmoſt celerity, marching day and night to reach the banks of the river Yadkin; he was followed with great eagerneſs by the Britiſh troops, who were extremely impatient to be revenged upon him for the check received at Broad River. But notwithſtanding the vigour with which they proceeded, ſo many impediments aroſe in

their way, from the difficulty of the roads, and the ſwell of the waters every where, that they could not come up with him till the evening of the ſecond day's purſuit; by which time he had paſſed over the main body of his infantry, and all his cavalry, with moſt of his baggage. His rear-guard was routed and diſperſed, and the remainder of his baggage taken. But as the ford through which he had croſſed became immediately impaſſable, through the rains that fell that very evening, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to direct his march to the upper fords of the river.

As General Greene had not yet been joined by the reinforcements from Virginia, the Britiſh troops haſtened to cut off his communication from that province, by marching with all ſpeed to the river Dan, which forms the upper boundary between North Carolina and Virginia.

Such was the celerity of Lord Cornwallis, that he fully ſucceeded in his deſign. Finding himſelf between that province and General Greene's army, he proceeded in queſt of him with the more expedition, as he now imagined that he would be compelled to an engagement, in order to extricate himſelf. He had been informed that all the fords of that river, excepting thoſe of which he now was maſter, were impaſſable at this ſeaſon, and that a ſufficient quantity of boats could not poſſibly be procured to ferry over ſo large a body as that under General Greene. But contrary to his expectation, and the intelligence he had received, he ſoon diſcovered that his purſuit of the American General was fruitleſs. The bridges on the roads were all broken down, the boats deſtroyed or removed, and every obſtruction contrived to retard his motions.—Arriving at Boyd's Ferry, on the fifteenth of February, he was informed that General Greene had

croſſed

croſſed it ſome hours before, and was ſafe on the other ſide of the river with his whole army.

This was highly mortifying to Lord Cornwallis, who had entertained no doubt of overtaking and compelling him to fight. As all hopes were at an end of preventing the junction of the Virginian troops with General Greene; and as the Britiſh army was too feeble to follow him into Virginia, he now determined to repair to Hillſborough, and take up his quarters there, in order to give his troops ſome reſt after the fatigues they had endured.

Notwithſtanding they had failed in the deſign of intercepting the enemy, they had however enjoyed the ſatisfaction of forcing him to retire from the Carolinas, and had ſtruck the people of thoſe provinces with equal dread and aſtoniſhment at the invincible courage and perſeverance with which they had gone through a conſtant ſeries of the greateſt hardſhips. Deſtitute of every refreſhment and comfort, without any other ſupport excepting what was indiſpenſible for exiſtence, they had ſpent the day in continual toil, marching through waſtes and foreſts without roads or tracks, expoſed to perpetual ambuſhes, and paſſing the night without cover, and open to all the inclemencies of weather.

While Lord Cornwallis was employed in theſe various expeditions, it was judged highly expedient to gain ſome convenient poſt on the ſea-ſide of North Carolina, in order to eſtabliſh a ſafer line of communication with him, than through that length of country by which it was now carried on with ſo much danger of interception. To this intent Colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charleſtown in the abſence of Lord Cornwallis, commiſſioned Major Craig to proceed to Cape Fear river, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, under the convoy of Captain Berkley, with ſome ſhips of force.

The troops and marines landed at ſome miles diſtance from the town of Wilmington, ſituated upon that river, and the ſhipping entered it at the ſame time; upon which the place ſurrendered at diſcretion. Some veſſels laden with goods and warlike ſtores were taken; a body of the enemy that had aſſembled in the neighbourhood, were defeated, with the loſs of a great quantity of ammunition, and the whole adjacent country was entirely reduced to ſubjection. After which, the town itſelf was put into a ſtate of defence, and endeavours made to open a communication with Lord Cornwallis, according to the directions he had given.

The poſſeſſion of Wilmington, and the retreat of General Greene into Virginia, had revived the hopes of the Royaliſts in the back parts of North Carolina. Some hundreds of them aſſembled with an intent of repairing to the King's ſtandard at Hillſborough; on intelligence of which a ſtrong party of the enemy marched to intercept them. Colonel Tarleton was ſent, on the other hand, to protect them, and they received notice to hold themſelves in readineſs to join him. Unfortunately, on the approach of the American detachment, they miſtook it for that commanded by Colonel Tarleton; the conſequence was, that they were ſurrounded, and made priſoners by the enemy, who were accuſed, on this occaſion, of having killed many of them after they had aſked for quarter.

This accident, though not of much importance in itſelf, was of much diſſervice to the Royal cauſe, by diſcouraging many from joining the Britiſh ſtandard who had been ſeeking the occaſion of doing it, but were now deterred by the activity with which they ſaw that all intentions of this kind were fruſtrated.

In order to prevent any further attempts of this nature, and to encourage his own adherents, Gene-

ral Greene having been largely reinforced, repaſſed the river Dan, and advanced into North Carolina. As the ſtrength he brought with him was much ſuperior in number to that of Lord Cornwallis, it was imagined that he propoſed to riſk an engagement on the firſt opportunity that offered.

Colonel Tarleton was detached with a ſmall, but ſelect body to watch his motions. On the ſecond of March, eighty-one, he fell in with conſiderable numbers of the enemy, whom he attacked and routed, driving them to their main body, which apprehending the approach of the whole Britiſh army, fell back to an advantageous poſition, in order to wait with more ſecurity the arrival of a very ſtrong reinforcement of Continental regulars that was daily expected.

As General Greene's light infantry was very numerous, and conſiſted chiefly of markſmen, they proved ſo troubleſome, that it was determined, if poſſible, to circumvent, and deſtroy or capture them. After uſing much vigilance, they were at length ſurprized in their quarters, and defeated with ſo much loſs, that they were obliged to retire to their army, which Lord Cornwallis preparing to attack, General Greene ſeeing his people diſcouraged by the flight of his light troops, made an immediate retreat.

The poſition which he took was ſo ſtrong, and at the ſame time ſo convenient, either to advance or retire, at pleaſure, that Lord Cornwallis finding it impracticable to force the Americans to an engagement, contented himſelf with keeping them from making irruptions into that part of the country which was repreſented to him as well affected to the Britiſh cauſe. But notwithſtanding his care and circumſpection in favour of thoſe whom he eſteemed his friends, experience daily convinced him, that if they were not few in number, they

were however very averſe to join him; and that though they might be willing to ſubmit to the authority of Britain, they had no inclination to run any hazard for its re-eſtabliſhment.

The long expected reinforcements having at length joined General Greene, his army now amounted to upwards of ſeven thouſand men, two-thirds of which conſiſted of regulars and well trained rifle and markſmen. With this force he no longer heſitated to face the Britiſh army, which did not much exceed two thouſand men.

On the fifteenth of March, at day-break, Lord Cornwallis ſet forward to meet the American General, who was reported to be advancing full ſpeed to attack him. Colonel Tarleton falling in with the advanced parties of the enemy, charged them with his uſual ſpirit, and put them inſtantly to the rout, purſuing them till he came within ſight of their main body, which was drawn up in order of battle upon a riſing ground, not far from a town called Guildford.

Between the two armies lay a plantation, with ſome open fields on each ſide; beyond it ſtood, at ſome diſtance, a wood, about one mile in depth; the ground behind it being an extenſive plain.—The ground whereon the American army ſtood, was ſkirted towards the right of the Britiſh army with a continuance of wood.

The front of the wood behind the plantation, was occupied by the firſt line of the American army, compoſed of the North Carolina militia; the ſecond was formed in the wood, and conſiſted of well diſciplined Virginia-men; the third, poſted in the ſame manner, was a choſen body of Continental veterans: their right and left were covered by dragoons and rifle-men.

On reconnoitring the diſpoſition of the enemy, as the wood appeared leſs thick and buſhy on their left,

Lord Cornwallis determined to make it the principal object of his attack. The ſmallneſs of his force admitted of no more than two lines. His right wing was commanded by General Leſlie; his left by Colonel Webſter: a body of reſerve, with the cavalry, under Colonel Tarleton, were poſted in readineſs to ſupport, with facility every corps that ſtood before it, and to ſeize every advantage.

The battle began about two in the afternoon; when after many ſevere diſcharges on both ſides, the ſuperiority of the Americans enabling them to out-flank the wings of the Britiſh army, the ſecond line was obliged to unite with the firſt, in order to form an equal length of front with the Americans, who had till then, by extending their wings, galled it with a heavy fire on each ſide.

In this poſition, notwithſtanding the diſparity of numbers, the Britiſh line preſſed forward with a vigour which the enemy were not able to withſtand; their front line was entirely broken, and put to flight. The Britiſh troops now entered the wood, to attack the ſecond; but it ſtood its ground with much more firmneſs. The troops compoſing it were, in fact, little, if at all inferior to regulars: they made a moſt reſolute defence, and were not diſcomfited without much difficulty; neither did they betake themſelves to flight, but fell back into the third line, conſiſting entirely of ſelected regulars.

The advantages of the ground were wholly on the ſide of the Americans. The wood, wherein both armies were now engaged, was ſo thick, that little or no order could be obſerved in advancing upon the enemy. The formation of a regular line being impracticable, perſonal courage and intrepidity were now upon a parity with military ſkill and diſcipline.

In no one action during the American war, was the native bravery of the Britiſh nation more reſolutely diſplayed, and more effectually exerted.—The battle was now become a trial of the ſtrength, activity, and valour of every man that fought. The enemy that had been broken in the commencement of the action, now rallied every where, and the fight was renewed with the greateſt degree of fierceneſs and obſtinacy. Both parties engaged in ſeparate detachments, unconnected with each other; but ſtill the numerouſneſs of the enemy empowered them to attack ſeveral of the Britiſh corps in their front, flank, and rear, and to incloſe them in ſuch a manner, as to oblige them, notwithſtanding their inferiority, to preſent a face on every ſide.

In this manner the fight was carried on for a conſiderable time. The Britiſh troops however ſtill continued to advance, and the enemy gradually to retire towards the further end of the wood. It was at length penetrated by a diviſion of the Britiſh army; this was the ſecond battalion of Guards. On their entrance into the plain, they found a large body of the enemy's regulars drawn up in readineſs to receive them. But their attack was ſo impetuous, that the enemy was immediately routed, with the loſs of their artillery, and driven into a wood in their rear. Here they recovered themſelves, and the Guards purſuing them, received ſuch a fire, that they were compelled to retire into the plain, where they were charged by the enemy's cavalry. The troops which they had before routed, having alſo rallied, took this opportunity to ſally from the wood, and retake their artillery. The enemy's great ſuperiority in numbers had thrown the Guards into diſorder; but their commander, General O'Hara, though wounded, by his ſpirited exertions brought them again into order and action.

By this time other diviſions of the Britiſh army had made their way through the wood, and charged the enemy as faſt as they came up. They were ſo effectually ſupported by the artillery, commanded by Captain Macleod, and the cavalry under Colonel Tarleton, who ſucceſſively arrived at this critical juncture, that after a bloody and hard conteſted conflict, the enemy was at laſt completely defeated in this quarter, with the total loſs of artillery and ammunition.

But the action, though terminated here, ſtill continued in other parts. A heavy fire was kept up on the right of the Britiſh army, where both ſides maintained the fight with as much fury as ever. The appearance of Colonel Tarleton quickly decided the conteſt. He made ſo reſolute an onſet, that the enemy was inſtantly broken, and obliged to fly to the thickeſt parts of the woods.

The remaining diviſions of the Britiſh army that were yet engaged, had at the ſame time the good fortune to rout thoſe that were oppoſed to them, who being informed that their principal troops had been worſted and put to flight, thought it neceſſary to conſult their own ſafety, by withdrawing with the utmoſt ſpeed.

The exceſſive fatigue undergone by the Britiſh troops, in encountering ſuch a multitude of enemies, prevented theſe from being cloſely purſued. They did not, however, make any halt till they were near twenty miles diſtance from the field of battle.

So great was the want of proviſions in the Britiſh army, that Lord Cornwallis was not able to follow the blow he had given the enemy. Their loſs in ſlain and wounded was computed at above two thouſand. But what was of more importance, the ſuperiority of the Britiſh troops had been confirmed in ſo conſpicuous a manner, that had not every

kind of impediment and difficulty aroſe to obſtruct their progreſs, ſuch was the dread and terror they had inſpired, that it was highly probable the ſucceſs of this day would have been attended with the moſt fortunate conſequences to the Britiſh arms.

The ſplendour of this victory was clouded, however, by the loſs of a number of brave officers and ſoldiers; ſmall in itſelf, and in compariſon of the glory and advantage that were obtained; but great, when weighed with the ſmallneſs of the army of which they formed ſo conſiderable a part, and with the profeſſional merit of thoſe who fell.—Among theſe Colonel Webſter was highly and deſervedly regretted: his ſervices throughout the whole of the campaign in the Carolinas had been truly eminent, and he had in no little degree contributed to the gaining of the battle in which he loſt his life.

Such was the zeal and reſolution diſplayed by the Britiſh troops on this memorable day, that it was hard to decide who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. By the unanimous conſent of all, no man could have exhibited more perſonal courage, as well as generalſhip, than Lord Cornwallis did upon this trying occaſion. Notwithſtanding an ill ſtate of health, he was preſent wherever there was moſt danger. To the great ſatisfaction of the whole army, he had the good fortune to eſcape without a wound, though two horſes were killed under him.

After reſting at Guildford two days, during which they wanted bread, the exhauſted condition of the country compelled the troops to quit that place, and to direct their march towards Wilmington.—They halted only two days more on their road to that town, in order to procure ſome proviſions.—They now fully experienced how much they had been deceived in the expectation of being joined by

their military operations. Though victorious, none of their adherents ventured to avow themſelves, and take up arms in their favour. Lord Cornwallis iſſued a proclamation, in order to ſtimulate them, but it proved ineffectual.

After a tedious march of three weeks, the Britiſh army arrived at Wilmington on the ſeventh of April. Here the firſt care of Lord Cornwallis was to provide a ſufficiency of ſupplies to enable him to take the field as ſoon as he had given his people that repoſe to which they were ſo juſtly entitled, after the long courſe of toil and hardſhip they had endured, and had ſubmitted to with ſo much readineſs and alacrity.

In the mean time, the inutility of the various plans that had been formed on the ſuppoſed cooperation of the friends to the Britiſh government, appeared in ſo ſtrong a light, that all hopes of eſſential aſſiſtance from that quarter were totally at an end The utmoſt that was now looked for on their part, was a chearful ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh arms, in caſe of their ſucceſs, and ſuch accidental intelligence as they were able to convey without fear of a diſcovery.

It now became evident, that the ſpirit and activity of the party oppoſite to Britain, were incomparably ſuperior to the exertions of its friends; whence it was not unreaſonably inferred, that notwithſtanding all aſſertions to the contrary, the number of theſe was much ſmaller than had been repreſented, and that their timidity and backwardneſs proceeded from the conſciouſneſs of their inferiority in point of ſtrength and numbers.

The frequent repreſentations of their ability and inclination to take an active part in favour of Britain, had more than once led the Britiſh commanders into unexpected difficulties. The deſire of leaving no means untried, that could be

of any ſucceſs, had induced them to make the utmoſt trial of the degree of confidence they could place in the promiſes of aid which they ſo frequently received. Nor did they ever deſiſt from repeating theſe trials; being determined that their well-wiſhers ſhould have no cauſe or pretext to complain that they had wanted opportunities to teſtify by their actions, the loyalty and attachment which they had ſo conſtantly, and ſo warmly profeſſed.

CHAP. LVII.

Hurricane in the Weſt Indies.—Secret Treaty between Holland and America.—Rupture with Holland.—Parliamentary Debates relating to theſe Matters.—Loſſes of the Dutch.

1781.

THE autumn of the year eighty was marked by one of the moſt dreadful and deſtructive hurricanes that was ever experienced in the Weſt Indies. The damage done by it to ſome of the Britiſh and French iſlands, as well as to their ſhipping in thoſe ſeas, was immenſe, and exceeded any loſſes, from ſuch a cauſe, that had yet happened in that part of the world.

The Britiſh iſland that ſuffered moſt, was the longeſt ſettled, and moſt flouriſhing one, Barbadoes. It underwent almoſt a total deſtruction. The iſlands of Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, partook greatly in the general calamity.

The French iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe ſuffered alſo dreadfully. The principal towns in both were levelled with the earth. Multitudes were loſt through the irruption of the ſea, and the violence of the ſtorm, eſpecially at Barbadoes, where ſome thouſands periſhed. Among the vaſt quantity of ſhipping caſt away were two Britiſh ſhips of the line, and ſeven frigates, beſides other armed veſſels. Several French ſhips of war met with the ſame fate.

The amount of the terrible loſſes incurred on this occaſion, added to thoſe that had befallen the nation during the preceding ſummer, by the capture of the Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, with

part

part of that deſtined for Quebec, was ſo enormous, that it ſpread an extenſive alarm throughout the realm. The expences of the war were annually increaſing, while, through this accumulation of adverſity, the means of ſupporting it were conſiderably diminiſhed.

From theſe motives, together with the remembrance of the domeſtic horrors during the late riots, the temper of the nation at large became ſullen and diſcontented. It ſeemed to ſome, as if the preſent period had been marked by deſtiny for misfortunes and mortifications of every kind.

In the mean time, the denial to redreſs the many grievances complained of in the petitions from the counties in England, contributed powerfully to augment the general diſſatisfaction. Various meetings were held, in order to keep alive the reſolution taken to inſiſt upon the granting of their demands.

Such was the general diſpoſition of the people, when an accident happened, which called up their attention in a particular manner, as it opened a new and very important ſcene to their conſideration.

Since the commencement of hoſtilities between Great Britain and the Colonies, an intercourſe very inimical to the former had been carried on by the Dutch with the latter. Though not openly avowed by the States General, it was encouraged by numbers of individuals, not only of the commercial claſſes, who profited by it, but of all other denominations. The emiſſaries of France excited ſuch a ſpirit of enmity to Britain, that all the repreſentations which were made of the detriment accruing to it, from ſuch a conduct being permitted or connived at, made no impreſſion on the States.

When France declared herſelf in favour of America, the French faction, which had been gradually gaining ſtrength, determined to follow the example

of that power; but in order at the ſame time to avoid the reſentment of Great Britain, judged it ſafeſt to enter into a clandeſtine treaty with the Americans. To this purpoſe, a private negociation was ſet on foot with the commiſſioners appointed by Congreſs.

This negociation was principally patronized by the regency of Amſterdam, a city that had long been noted for its partiality to the cauſe of France, or of any power unfriendly to Great Britain. The penſionary of this city, Mr. Van Berkel, a man of abilities, and a ſworn enemy to the Engliſh, was the perſon who conducted this buſineſs. Being from his office a miniſter of ſtate of the greateſt authority and influence, it was ſpeedily terminated; a friendſhip and alliance was ſettled between the Dutch and the Americans; of which the common enmity of both to the Britiſh nation became the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt bond.

The terms of the treaty were indeed proviſional, and the treaty itſelf purely commercial; but the Americans were clearly treated with as a free and independent nation.

Though Amſterdam alone ſeemed to act upon this occaſion, yet the world well underſtood, that the weight of this great and powerful city was too heavy to be counterbalanced by that of the whole province, of which it was the capital, or even of all the Seven United Provinces.

It was from the knowledge of this, together with the ſuperiority of the French faction in Holland, that the Congreſs relied on the ſtrength and validity of any meaſures and tranſactions that might take place between the reſpective agents of the contracting parties.

Still, however, this treaty was negociated and concluded in the utmoſt concealment and privacy. It was ſigned on the fourth of September, ſeventy-

eight, by Mr. Doncaville, a Dutch merchant, on the one hand, and Mr. William Lee on the other; both of whom had repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle for that purpoſe, in order to avoid all ſuſpicion.

This tranſaction had now lain dormant two entire years; but the ruling powers in America were highly deſirous that it ſhould be brought to maturity, and openly acknowledged on the part of Holland. The events of theſe two years were ſuch as encouraged them to think that the Dutch would not be backward to comply with their wiſhes. Much ill blood and altercation had been created between Great Britain and Holland, through the continual aſſiſtance given to France by the latter; and the reſolute methods adopted by the former in order to prevent it.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when Congreſs took the reſolution to depute a perſon of the higheſt rank among them to Holland, in the character of an ambaſſador, to the intent of bringing the buſineſs of an alliance between both countries to a ſolid and effectual concluſion.

The perſon choſen for this important embaſſy was Mr. Henry Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, a gentleman of known abilities, and reſpectable character. The high ſtation he had filled with ſo much propriety and applauſe, gave additional weight to the commiſſion he was inveſted with, and it was hoped would prove a motive for accelerating the union propoſed between Holland and America.

With this view and deſtination, he embarked at Philadelphia, in a veſſel bound to Holland; but it was taken on its voyage, in the beginning of September, eighty, and all the papers relating to his miſſion were ſeized. He was himſelf, on his arrival in England, committed as a ſtate priſoner to cloſe confinement in the Tower.

The object of his commiſſion being fully diſcovered by his papers, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague remonſtrated in very ſpirited terms to the States General, on the unfriendlineſs and impropriety of ſuffering ſuch tranſactions to paſs unnoticed and uncenſured in any of their ſubjects: He demanded a formal diſavowal of the proceedings of the regency of Amſterdam, an adequate ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to Great Britain, and a due puniſhment on the offenders.

The memorial to this purpoſe was preſented to the States General on the tenth of November eighty, and was followed by another, ſtill more preſſing, on the twelfth of December: but neither of them produced any effect. The only anſwer that could be obtained was, that they would be taken into conſideration according to the uſages and forms cuſtomary in ſuch matters; and that a reply would be given as ſoon as the nature of their government would admit.

This anſwer not proving ſatisfactory to the court of Great Britain, it came to the reſolution of recalling the Britiſh ambaſſador from the Hague, and of proceeding to immediate hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the United Provinces.

A declaration was iſſued accordingly on the twentieth of December, wherein the conduct of the States General was ſeverely reprehended, for their neglect of fulfilling the part of friends and allies to Great Britain, to which they were bound by ſo many treaties, and for the unjuſt and inimical partiality conſtantly diſplayed in favour of France, and every other foe to the Britiſh nation, as well as for the countenance and ſupport ſo notoriouſly afforded to the Americans. This conduct was imputed to the prevalence of the French faction in Amſterdam: it was ſpecified in the declaration, that, were it practicable, the Britiſh government

would direct the vengeance of Britain againſt that city alone, without involving the remainder of the Dutch nation in the puniſhment which that part of it ſo juſtly merited. The utmoſt readineſs was at the ſame time profeſſed to return to the ancient union and amity between Great Britain and Holland, on this latter's giving ſatisfaction for its paſt, and ſecurity for its future conduct. "We mean only," concluded the declaration, "to provide for our own ſecurity, by defeating the dangerous deſigns that have been formed againſt us. We ſhall ever be diſpoſed to return to friendſhip with the States General, when they ſincerely revert to that ſyſtem which the wiſdom of their anceſtors formed, and which has now been ſubverted by a powerful faction, conſpiring with France againſt the true intereſts of the republic, no leſs than againſt thoſe of Great Britain."

In this manner was added another enemy to the formidable combination already ſubſiſting againſt this country. What rendered him the more dangerous was his proximity, and his great maritime ſtrength. It was not, however, without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that the politicians of Europe beheld a connection formed between the Houſe of Bourbon and the United Provinces. The dangers to which they expoſed themſelves by ſuch a meaſure, were manifeſt; while the utility reſulting from it was problematical. In the opinion of the unprejudiced, it ſeemed to be momentary at beſt; and threatened to ſubject them to many more inconveniences in future, than they would derive benefits from it at the preſent.

Their alliance with America was conſidered at the ſame time as a meaſure dictated by the intrigues of France, and taken up in a fit of reſentment for the obſtructions they had met with in the proſecution of their commercial ſchemes with both.

A CHART OF THE GERMAN OCEAN, OR NORTH SEA.

SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
Old Aberdeen
New Aberdeen
Don R
Dee R
Montross
North Esk
Red Cast
Scurdy Ness
Lunan B
Dundee
Red Hd
Perth
Burnt Island
Sterling
Blackness
Frith of Forth
Fair I
Leith
EDINBURGH
Dunbar
St. Abbs Hd
Berwick
Nth Berwick
Tweed R.
Amouth
Holy I.
Staples
Farn I.
Bamborough Cast
Sunderland
Dustonburg Cast
Coquet I
Tinmouth Cast
Wansbeck R.
Tinmouth Bar
South Shields
Sunderland
Newcastle
Hartlepool
Tees Mouth
Stockton
Whitby
Robin Hood B.
Scarborough
Honingbye
Flamborough Hd
Bridlington
Beverly
Hornsey
Kingston
Patrington
Barton
Humber Mouth
Burgh
Spurn Hd
Wainfleet
Wells
Clay
Boston
Cromer
Dunington
Burnham
Lynn Regis
Spalding
Yarmouth
Yarmouth Roads
Holbeache
Winterton Ness
Southwold
Aldborough
Orford
Orford Ness
Ipswich
Colchester
Landguard Ft
Chelmsford
Harwich
Malden
Tilbury Ft
LONDON
R. Thames
Leigh
Nth Foreland
Chatham
Sandwich
Deal
Dover
DOWNS
Southampton
Portsmouth
Chichester
Lewes
Sth Foreland
Dunkirk
Oftend
Newport
Lillo
BRABANT
Beachy Hd
Brighthelmstone
WIGHT I.
Deg. W. of London.
Buchan Deep
The Long Forty
Long Bank
DOGGER BANK
White Bank
Well Bank
Brown Bank
Broad Fourteen
Hitteroe I.
The Naze
Little Fisher Bank
Jutts Reef
Numet I
Blue Mtn
Fanoe I
Rom I.
Sylt I.
Amron I.
Husum
Flensburg
Sleswick
Meldorp
Gluckstadt
Elbe R
Stade
Bremen
Harborg
Varal
Wederbrook
Weser R.
BREMEN
Wrangoe
Balbrun
Nordney
Bigens Jigyst
Borkum
Ronum
Boseck
Schier
Memert
Ameland
Schelling
Vlieland
Texel I
Dockum
Delfzyl
Halingen
Staveren
Kaynder
Campen
Harderwyck
Bamboden
Winchoten
SECANCES
UNITED PROVINCES
Amsterdam
Leyden
Hague
Rotterdam
Worcum
Williamstadt
Bergen op Zoom
Voorn I
Hetvoetsluys
Goree I
Schouwen
Walcheren I.
Middleburg
Cadsand I
The Skaw
SCAW TREACH or CATEGATE
Seby
Kettorp
Orum
Lesson I.
Alburg
Mel-dorp
Aarhus
JUTLAND
Blue Mtn
Scanderberg
Samsoe I
Ripen
Eblo
Middle Ground
The Great Belt
Nyborg
FUNEN
Belt
Tunder
Husum
Alsen I.
Flensburg
Capel
Sleswick
Meldorp
Kiel
Oldenburg
Newstat
Elbe R
Gluckstadt
Femeren I.
Langeland I
THE BALTIC SEA
Falster I.
Moon I.
Valsterborn
Lunden
Malmoe
Trelleborg
The Sound
Helmsborg
Landscroon
Odby
Nycopin
Roenes
ZEELAND
Copenhagen
Elsenor
LALAND
Wordingborg
Stralsund
Rostock
Wismar
Lubeck
Attena
Hamburg
HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
Madstrand
Kongsbacka
Male Sound
Nyding I.
Monster Sound
Falkenberg
Halmstadt
Anholt I.
SWE
DEN
Deg. E. of London.

Thus, inſtead of attending to the eſſential and long eſtabliſhed maxims of their policy, they were led away by the private views of merchants and traders, whoſe tranſient benefit was unhappily conſulted, in preference to the permanent intereſt of the ſtate.

In this critical ſituation of national affairs, a new Parliament was called, and met at the cloſe of October. The Speech from the Throne was remarkably ſpirited, and deſcriptive of the reſolution and ſucceſs with which Great Britain had ſo nobly withſtood and diſappointed the efforts of its numerous enemies. It held out with great ſtrength and animation of language, the neceſſity of continuing vigorouſly to exert the courage and power of the nation in order to obtain an honourable peace.

A warm debate was occaſioned in the Houſe of Commons by the motion for the addreſs. The queſtion ſo often agitated concerning the propriety of the American war, was again brought up and litigated on both ſides with great energy. Thoſe who maintained the neceſſity of ſtill carrying it on, alledged the ſucceſſes of the preceding campaign; the terror with which the aſtoniſhing valour and exertions of the Britiſh troops had ſtruck the enemy; the ſhame and injuſtice of relinquiſhing our friends and adherents to the mercy of their oppreſſors; and the diſgrace, as well as detriment, of ſuffering America to fall into the hands of the Houſe of Bourbon.

It was inſiſted, that the terms offered by Great Britain were highly acceptable to the majority of the people in the Colonies, and were oppoſed by none but the emiſſaries of Congreſs; which, though the moſt powerful, was by no means the moſt numerous party. The complaints occaſioned by the hardſhips experienced by perſons of all ranks, and

above all, the depreciation of their paper currency, ſhewed in what little credit the ruling powers were held throughout the continent, and with what readineſs the people at large would embrace an opportunity of returning to their former connection with Britain, were they ſure of being firmly and permanently ſupported.

The ancient motto of Oliver Cromwell ought now, it was aſſerted, to become the inflexible determination of Great Britain. Peace ſhould be ſought at the point of the ſword. The only means of humbling France, was to cruſh rebellion in America. Were Britain to make thoſe conceſſions that were now demanded by the Coloniſts, were it to acknowledge their independence, even this ſtep, low and humiliating as it was, would not purchaſe peace. The Americans knew their ſituation too well to dare abandon France at the preſent moment. The policy of that power had too deeply embarked them in its intereſts, for them to relinquiſh it, without expoſing themſelves to ſuch inconveniences and dangers as the commoneſt prudence would lead them to ſhun. They conſidered themſelves as tied down by principles of honour and gratitude, not to forſake the French; nor were they leſs ſwayed in this matter by motives of intereſt: were they to withdraw themſelves from the confederacy that had been formed for their ſupport, they would not only be branded with infamy, but would in future meet with no allies in caſe of need.

It was neceſſary, for theſe reaſons, to compel them by dint of arms to return to ſubmiſſion. Were they to be brought to ſuch a condition as to find themſelves unable to purſue the conteſt, they could then give it up without diſgracing themſelves; and would ſtand acquitted to thoſe powers who were now contending for them. It could not

they were reduced to the extremeſt neceſſity of doing it.

Intrepidity and perſeverance were, it was well known, the native attributes of the Britiſh nation: they had been put to the ſevereſt teſt, and had not yet been found deficient. It was to be hoped they would endure to the laſt, and triumph over all difficulties.

Such was the purport of the various arguments uſed by thoſe who pleaded for the continuance of coercive meaſures in America.

Oppoſition was no leſs vehement in repreſenting the perpetual diſappointments of miniſterial hopes in America, and in combating their future expectations of ſucceſs by the experience of paſt misfortunes.

They aſſerted that the univerſal ſenſe of the nation was for immediate peace with America, in order to proſecute the more vigorouſly the war into which we had been unfortunately drawn againſt ſo many powers, envious of our grandeur and proſperity. Theſe were the enemies againſt whom our vengeance ought to be pointed; to humble them ought now to be our principal aim: in ſuch a caſe only the ambition of victory and conqueſt was laudable. Here we ſtood upon the ground of ſelf-defence; but by purſuing the ſyſtem of deluging the plains of America with the blood of our fellow-citizens, as well as our own, in order to bring them to our terms, we acted the part of tyrants, which even the moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes could not juſtify.

But no real ſucceſs, they ſaid, had attended the Britiſh arms during the preſent campaign. Glorious victories had been won, and the higheſt reputation had been obtained by the ſkill of the commanders, and the bravery of the ſoldiers. But what had been the reſult of theſe hard fought battles? Was the enemy ſubdued?

vince fairly reduced to our obedience?—The ſum total of all our exploits was the acquiſition of great honour,—but no more.

On that high ſummit of military fame whereon we ſtood in America, we were not, however, without antagoniſts. Though confeſſedly our inferiors, they ſtill maintained their ground with invincible obſtinacy, and daily made it evident, that victories or defeats were equally conducive in weakening our ſtrength, and confirming them in their reſiſtance, from the ſure proſpect of waſting our reſources, by patiently enduring the preſſures brought upon them by our power. Their paſſive valour would, in the end, prove an over-match for that active ſpirit which prompted our people to thoſe indefatigable and ſurprizing exertions, that threw ſuch a luſtre on their character. Though the Americans could not conquer, they would weary us out; and the day would come, when we ſhould be obliged to ſurceaſe, through mere laſſitude, or entangle ourſelves perhaps in ſuch difficulties, through the enterpriſingneſs of our diſpoſition, as might be found inſurmountable, and lead us, when we leaſt expected it, into irretrievable ruin.

Notwithſtanding the aſſertion ſo often and ſo confidently repeated, that a majority of the inhabitants of America were friendly to this country, conſtant experience demonſtrated the contrary. In the midſt of our victories, we ſtill found them averſe to conciliation, though we held out terms as favourable as they could deſire, ſhort of independence. But inſtead of joining our armies, even thoſe who had promiſed obedience, and bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to be faithful to our cauſe, forſook it the moment they found an opportunity, and repaired to the enemy with thoſe very arms we had put into their hands, to be uſed in our defence.

Theſe were facts of notoriety, and proved that no dependence could be placed on the apparent ſubmiſſion of thoſe who were awed by our arms. Nor was the aſſiſtance of thoſe who came over to us a circumſtance worth dwelling upon; they were altogether but a handful, when compared with the reſidue of their countrymen who were in oppoſition to Britain.

The only good conſequence derivable from our ſucceſſes, appeared to be the means they afforded of obtaining honourable terms of peace. While the impreſſion ariſing from them reſted upon the minds of the Americans, we ought, if wiſe, to hold out offers of reconciliation with them of ſuch a nature, as they could not conſiſtently with their evident intereſt refuſe to accept. To ſay that their connection with France was ſo binding, that they could not releaſe themſelves from it, was nugatory in the extremeſt degree. Were we to grant them independence, neither France, nor any other power, could either blame them for cloſing with the offer, or be able to make them repent it. Were America thoroughly ſenſible that Britain harboured no farther deſigns of coercion or enmity, it could not be doubted, they would meet us with every diſpoſition we could reaſonably wiſh to find in men to whom we were willing to make the conceſſions they demanded.

It had long ago been the opinion of the moſt experienced commanders, that a conqueſt of America was impracticable, with all the ſtrength that Great Britain could employ for that end. The nature of the country fought for the inhabitants, and rendered them invincible. If this was true while we had them alone to encounter, it was certainly much more manifeſt ſince the combination now framed in their favour by every nation in Europe, without exception.

Strange as it was, and unexampled in hiſtory, we were become an object of enmity to every ſtate. They all co-operated, openly or clandeſtinely, to the detriment of Great Britain. Its humiliation was the avowed aim of all the crowned heads upon the European continent. The cauſes of this inveteracy were the incomparably ſuperior degree of greatneſs and proſperity enjoyed by this nation over all others, and the exceſſive jealouſy it had excited. Had we not unadviſedly quarrelled with our Colonies, we might ſtill have remained on this ſplendid footing, and have ſet their envy at defiance. But their pride had too long ſuffered from our ſuperiority, to omit ſo fair an opportunity of humbling it as that which our miſmanagement had thrown into their hands.

Still, however, we might emerge out of our difficulties, by recurring to a pacification with America. It were the height of imprudence and obſtinacy to continue a conteſt, from which nothing but a ſeries of mortifications had ariſen, and could be expected. An application of the enormous expence vainly profuſed in that quarter, to a proſecution of the war with our ancient and hereditary enemies, would, in all likelihood, turn the ſcale ſo effectually in our favour, as to reſtore us to that ſtate of ſtrength and importance, from which our embracing more objects than we could poſſibly accompliſh, had occaſioned us for the preſent to decline.

In conſequence of theſe various arguments oppoſition inſiſted that the addreſs ſhould not, in any part, give the leaſt countenance to the proſecution of the American war. But after a long altercation, an addreſs in conformity with the Royal ſpeech, was voted upon a diviſion, by a majority of two hundred and twelve, againſt one hundred and thirty.

The

The violence which accompanied the reprobation of the American war, did not, however, prevent the thanks of the Houſe being voted with perfect unanimity to Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Admiral Arbuthnot, for their reſpective ſervices in that part of the world.

In the mean time, the rupture with Holland became an object of ſerious diſcuſſion both in and out of doors. On the meeting of Parliament, after the uſual receſs at the expiration of the year, a meſſage was delivered to both Houſes from the Throne, conveying a formal notification of hoſtilities being declared againſt that ſtate.

The obſervations made by oppoſition were, that however the juſtice of the war with Holland might be incontrovertible, ſtill the prudence and policy of ſuch a meaſure were highly queſtionable. Great Britain was ſo deeply involved, that it behoved miniſters to uſe all their abilities in preventing any acceſſion of help to its numerous enemies. Haſte and precipitation did not become the preſent circumſtances of this country; it were even wiſer to connive at ſmall injuries, than expoſe ourſelves to greater, by reſenting them at an improper ſeaſon.

To diſſemble and temporiſe in dangerous ſituations, was the long eſtabliſhed maxim of all ſound politicians. It would have reflected no diſgrace upon the Britiſh miniſtry, had it, conformably to this rule, avoided a rupture with a ſtate, which, though it might have been deficient in the performance of its treaties with Britain, could not ſtrictly be ranked in the number of its enemies.

Holland, though governed by commercial maxims, wanted neither ſenſe to perceive its true intereſts, nor ſpirit to aſſert them. The Dutch were allied to us from neceſſity: they knew that the Houſe of Bourbon could only propoſe its own views in its pretences to vindicate their rights againſt the

encroachments of the Engliſh. They had accordingly delayed, with the utmoſt care and circumſpection, to enter into any meaſures that could be interpreted as directly hoſtile to this country.—Though the mercantile claſſes in Holland had not been prevented from ſupplying the French with various articles, to our detriment, ſtill as the States had not manifeſted any unfriendly deſigns, it was an act of unpardonable temerity to compel them, in their own defence, to become our avowed enemies, and to join the confederacy formed by the intrigues of the Houſe of Bourbon.

True it was, the Dutch had not obſerved the treaties framed in former times between Great Britain and Holland: but miniſtry ought to know that treaties were the reſult of actual circumſtances, and were no further attended to than preſent exigencies made it neceſſary. The Dutch beheld us at variance with a part of our own people; they ſaw the whole world preparing to reap the benefit of a commercial correſpondence with that great and important part of the Britiſh empire; ſtimulated by motives of profit, Amſterdam had followed the example; but was alone and uncountenanced.

Miniſtry ſhould remember, that the fate of every ſtate which acted with haughtineſs in the day of its power and proſperity, was to raiſe a combination againſt it, ſoon or late. Spain had experienced this truth two centuries ago; France had in the laſt; and it was the turn of Great Britain to feel its effects in the preſent. Miniſterial arrogance had driven America into rebellion, and now made Holland our foe.

The miniſterial anſwer to theſe allegations was, that Great Britain had diſplayed a patience and moderation to which the conduct of the Dutch, in the preſent inſtance, by no means entitled them.—They had not only refuſed the aſſiſtance ſpecified

and ſtipulated by the moſt ſolemn treaties; but had in direct contradiction to them, aſſiſted the enemies of Britain in the moſt open and avowed manner, with implements and materials for the conſtruction and equipment of their navies. When warned of the injury accruing to this country by ſuch a proceeding, they had unwarrantably diſtorted the tenour and words of a treaty, into a privilege granted them to act in this manner; as if it were poſſible, in the nature of things, that any nation could be guilty of ſuch abſurdity, as to conſent to its own deſtruction. They nevertheleſs perſiſted in this violation of friendſhip, as well as of the plaineſt meaning of thoſe treaties.

Would oppoſition deny that it was from Holland France received its naval ſtores, and thoſe numerous articles that enabled it to contend with the fleets of Britain? Was it not clear and notorious, that the Dutch exerted themſelves to ſerve the French with as much zeal, as if they were the beſt friends to Holland, and the Engliſh their greateſt enemies?

It was a mere ſubterfuge to ſay, that Holland could not be conſidered as acting in the light of a principal in the treaty concluded between the regency of Amſterdam and the agents of America.—That city was well known to bear a preponderating ſway in all the deliberations of the States General. The fact was, they did not dare to call the conduct of that city into queſtion. What it had done, ought therefore to be conſidered as the act and deed of the Dutch republic. It was nugatory to diſjoin the meaſures reſolved upon by the Amſterdammers from thoſe of the States themſelves. The French faction, by its influence in that city, governed, in reality, the Seven United Provinces.—In declaring hoſtilities againſt them, Britain had done

done no more than determined to attack France in one of its moſt vulnerable parts.

So far was the Britiſh miniſtry from conducting itſelf arrogantly with Holland, that in the repeated remonſtrances preſented to the States, on the unfriendlineſs and impropriety of permitting their ſubjects to carry on this pernicious intercourſe with France, no arguments were uſed but ſuch as aroſe from the neceſſity of continuing the long amity and good offices that had ſo long ſubſiſted between both countries, to their evident and reciprocal benefit. So cautious of giving the leaſt offence or cauſe of complaint, ſo circumſpectful was the Britiſh miniſtry in every ſtep that was taken, that when conſtrained by abſolute neceſſity to cut off this channel of ſupply from the French, it ſtill preſerved the property of the ſhips laden with ſtores for France to the Dutch owner. His cargo, when ſeized, was paid for, and his veſſel returned. Thus France alone was detrimented by the ſeizure; and no reaſon to complain was given to the merchants in Holland, any more than to the States.

Was it conſiſtent with the dignity of Great Britain tamely to ſubmit to the treatment it had received in the perſon of its ambaſſador? Had oppoſition forgot the ſlight and diſreſpect ſhown to the requiſitions made in the King's name to the States General, for ſatisfaction on account of the city of Amſterdam's breach of the peace between both nations? Was not the ſilence ſo haughtily affected on this occaſion by the States, a refuſal, in effect, to give any ſatisfactory anſwer? Was it not making themſelves acceſſary to the inſult offered to the Crown of Great Britain? Was it otherwiſe than participation in a meaſure ſo glaringly offenſive to this country, to paſs it over without the leaſt cenſure or diſapprobation?

The danger of increaſing the number of our enemies was purely ideal. The Dutch were already our foes; the more dangerous, as under the pretence of treaties, they laboured with all their might to do us every injury in their power. Under this knowledge and conviction, it was unworthy of the ſpirit and character of the Britiſh nation, to make uſe of a diſſimulation which our enemies would conſtrue into fear and conſciouſneſs of our debility. The Dutch themſelves would be the readieſt of any to profit of this averſeneſs in us to reſent their behaviour, and would feel an additional fervour in the cauſe of our enemies.

When matters were come to ſuch a criſis between two ſtates, nothing but puſilanimity or weakneſs could prevent the aggrieved party from doing itſelf juſtice. Neither of theſe, it was well known, was the caſe of Great Britain. It had hitherto faced its many adverſaries with a ſtrength and courage which they had not been able to overcome. Their reſources, from daily experience, appeared no ways ſuperior to our own. We met them wherever they were to be found, and the balance of war was far from being in their favour. The addition of Holland to the numerous hoſt we had to encounter, was more nominal than effective. The Dutch had long combated us by means, which, though indirect, had proved highly injurious to this country. By compelling them to ſtand forth openly, they would henceforward be liable to receive that chaſtiſement from us which they had hitherto contrived to evade. We had done no more than dragged a lurking foe from his concealment, and obliged him to avow himſelf.

Holland, in eſpouſing the cauſe of America, and of the Houſe of Bourbon, had broke that ſyſtem of European politics, on which the balance of power had ſo long reſted. This balance it was the

intereſt of Holland, more than of any other ſtate, to preſerve entire and unimpaired. Were it to be deſtroyed, Holland would become the firſt victim of her own erroneous politics. The very object of the war on the part of Great Britain, was not more the reduction of her refractory Colonies, than the maintenance of that balance. The experience of two centuries had proved the neceſſity of Great Britain and Holland's united co-operation in its ſupport. To them it was chiefly owing that Europe had reſiſted the power of Spain and France ſucceſſively. It was much to be lamented that deſpicable conſiderations of tranſient and precarious gains, could have influenced the ruling powers in the Seven United Provinces to abandon the cauſe of Europe, and to betray their own country. It would evidently be the principal ſufferer from the meaſures they had been ſo fatally perſuaded to adopt, in contradiction to thoſe maxims of policy which had ſo long been conſidered as the fundamental rule of their conduct by the wiſeſt of thoſe who had been at the head of the Dutch commonwealth ever ſince its foundation.

It was clear that the States General had determined to proceed farther than a ſimple permiſſion to their ſubjects to ſupply France with thoſe articles which were neceſſary for a naval war. The mercantile claſſes in Holland, inſpirited by the French faction, and prompted by the baſeſt views of intereſt, had preſented repeated petitions for convoys to their trading fleets. Theſe petitions, it was known, had produced the intended effect; armaments were now preparing in the Dutch ports to protect the veſſels deſtined to carry naval ſtores to the ports of France. Such a meaſure added to the treaty framed between the governing men in Holland and the Americans, left no room to doubt of their real intentions reſpecting Great Britain, and

demonſtrated their hoſtility beyond the power of refutation.

Was it therefore conſiſtent with prudence to wait until the preparations indiſputably meant againſt this country ſhould be brought to ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, as to enable the Dutch to enter upon the execution of the deſigns they had formed againſt us? Did not prudence dictate the ſpeedieſt anticipation of their ſiniſter intentions?—In the preceding war, it was preciſely by a preventive ſtep of this kind that we fruſtrated the projects of France before it had leiſure to bring them to maturity.

The arguments uſed in Parliament by miniſtry were approved of, as juſtly founded, by the majority of people without doors, as well as within.—The conduct of the Dutch was indeed ſo inimical, that no apology could be made for it. The only queſtion that was agitated in the political circles, was the propriety of reſenting it in the preſent very critical circumſtances of the nation.

Hoſtilities began againſt them by a detention of their ſhipping in the different ports of England, and by the capture of two men of war of fifty-four guns. On the granting of letters of marque and repriſal againſt them, a multitude of privateers was added to thoſe that were already in commiſſion, and a very great number of Dutch merchant-men were brought into the Britiſh ports.

Inſtructions were diſpatched at the ſame time to the commanders of the Britiſh forces in the Weſt Indies to proceed to immediate hoſtilities againſt the Dutch ſettlements in thoſe parts.

Admiral Rodney was returned from his expedition to North America, and was preparing to attack ſuch of the French iſlands as ſeemed leaſt in a condition of defence, when he was appriſed of the

rupture with Holland, and directed to commence hoſtilities againſt its poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies.

The moſt important of theſe was the iſland of St. Euſtatius, commonly called Statia. Though not twenty miles in circumference, it abounded with riches, through the vaſt conflux of trade from every other iſland in thoſe ſeas. Being a free port, it was open to the ſubjects of all the powers at war. By theſe means a communication was eſtabliſhed among them, through which they were enabled to carry on a commercial correſpondence which greatly mitigated the inconveniencies of war. The Dutch, under whoſe mediation all trading buſineſs was tranſacted, reaped, of courſe, immenſe benefit from the numberleſs commiſſions with which they were entruſted, and from the vaſt ſale of thoſe merchandiſes which they diſpoſed of to all parties in virtue of their neutrality.

Such was the ſituation of this famous iſland when Admiral Rodney ſuddenly appeared before it with a naval and land force, which it was in no condition to reſiſt. It ſurrendered therefore without any ſtipulations.

The value that fell into the hands of the captors was prodigious. It amounted, at a moderate calculation, to four millions ſterling. Excluſive of what was found aſhore, upwards of two hundred ſail of merchant-men were taken, beſides a ſhip of ſixty guns, a frigate of forty, and five others from thirty to fourteen.

So little were the inhabitants of this iſland under any apprehenſions of danger, that their warehouſes were not ſufficient to contain the quantity of commercial articles imported for ſale. The very ſtreets and beach were, in the Admiral's own words, covered with hogſheads of tobacco and ſugar. The Governor could hardly give credit to the officer who ſummoned him to ſurrender.

The intelligence of this capture was the more agreeably received in England, as the loſs fell chiefly upon the city of Amſterdam. The French and Americans were alſo conſiderable ſufferers, and not a few of the Britiſh merchants; who truſting to the neutrality of the place, had conſigned valuable cargoes to their correſpondents there; all which, on its falling into the hands of Britain, were ſeized as Dutch property.

The ſettlements belonging to the Dutch on the ſouthern continent of America, ſituated on the rivers Berbice, Iſſequibo, and Demerary, ſhared the ſame fate as Statia. They were taken by a ſquadron of privateers, who aſſociated for that purpoſe. The treatment theſe ſettlements experienced was much more favourable than that of the people at Statia. The fact was, that no ſuſpicions lay againſt them of having proved ſerviceable in any degree to the enemies of Great Britain; while, on the contrary, Statia was looked upon as the magazine from whence the French iſlands were ſupplied with proviſions, and all kinds of neceſſaries, and whence the Americans drew immenſe quantities of warlike ſtores, as well as other articles of merchandiſe.

In conſequence of the different light in which they were viewed, the former were left in poſſeſſion of their private property and civil government. Previous to their being attacked, they had, upon information of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, ſent a deputation to Barbadoes, with offers to ſubmit on terms uſually granted in ſuch caſes, and referring for that purpoſe to thoſe upon which they imagined Statia had ſurrendered; in theſe, however, they had the good fortune not to be involved.

The confiſcation of mercantile property at Statia, occaſioned heavy complaints among the Britiſh merchants in the Weſt Indies, aud in Britain itſelf.

Warm repreſentations were made upon the ſubject, followed by proceedings in the courts of law.—Hence animoſities aroſe between the complainants and the commanders of the Britiſh armaments in thoſe parts; which, it was thought, proved not a little prejudicial to the ſervice.

The reduction of theſe various poſſeſſions of the Dutch in this part of the world, was felt by them in the moſt ſenſible manner. The profits derived from the commerce of which they were the mediators and managers, were immenſe. It was a commerce of clear and certain gain, as it was attended with no riſk on their part, and conſiſted wholly in conſignments.

Such heavy loſſes in the very outſet of a war, into which they had drawn themſelves without neceſſity, and againſt their demonſtrable intereſt, excited the loudeſt clamours among thoſe people throughout the Seven United Provinces, who were not entirely devoted to the French. That party which had recommended violent meaſures againſt Great Britain, began to loſe its popularity in proportion to the diſtreſſes which were now daily accumulating on the trading individuals, of which the Dutch nation is chiefly compoſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

Naval Tranſactions in the Weſt Indies.—Loſs of Tobago and Penſacola.—Continuation of the Siege of Gibraltar.

1781.

THE little progreſs made by the confederacy againſt Great Britain, ſtill continued a matter of utter aſtoniſhment to Europe. With a decided ſuperiority in number of ſhips and of men in favour of the former, the war was hitherto carried on with ſo much equality of ſucceſs on both ſides, that it was evident the palm of ſkilfulneſs and exertion belonged incontrovertibly to this country.

The cloſe of the year eighty had left France diſappointed in North America, and enfeebled in the Weſt Indies; where the fleets of Great Britain had maintained the unrivalled command of the ſea, and had begun the naval campaign of the enſuing year with the moſt alarming ſucceſſes againſt its Dutch allies.

In order to retrieve theſe diſgraces, and to ſtrike a blow of deciſive conſequence, the court of France ſpent the winter in making the greateſt efforts to repair its marine, and enable it to return to a freſh trial of ſkill and fortune with that of Britain.

About the end of March, eighty-one, the Count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt, at the head of twenty-one ſhips of the line, and a fleet of merchant-men and tranſports, conſiſting of near three hundred veſſels, on board of which were ſix thouſand troops. His deſtination was for Martinico, where he was to be joined by another ſquadron.

The naval ſtrength under the Britiſh commanders on the windward ſtation, amounted at this time to twenty-one ſail of the line: moſt of theſe were detached under Admirals Hood and Drake, to meet Count de Graſſe, and prevent his junction with the ſquadron at Martinico.

On the twenty-eighth of April they received notice of the approach of the French fleet, and took their poſition between it and the harbour of Port Royal. But, notwithſtanding their vigilance, the various movements they were obliged to make, in order to come up with the French fleet, enabled the ſhips in that port to ſail out of it, and join the Count de Graſſe. By this junction he had a ſuperiority of ſix ſhips of the line, his force amounting to twenty-four, and that under Admiral Hood to eighteen.

Notwithſtanding this great diſparity, the utmoſt endeavours were uſed by the Britiſh Admiral to bring the enemy to action. As the French were to windward, it lay entirely at their option whether to accept or decline an engagement. They adhered upon this occaſion to that ſyſtem of fighting which they had conſtantly practiſed ever ſince the beginning of the war; they engaged at too great a diſtance for any deciſion, and kept ſo far aloof on this day in particular, as to throw their fire entirely away during a great part of the action.

It ſeems the French Admiral was convinced that the Britiſh fleet, through the variety of efforts it would make to cloſe in with him, would afford ſome opportunity of taking it at a diſadvantage. This hope was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed. Its van, with ſome ſhips of its centre diviſion, were, in conſequence of their endeavours to near him, compelled to ſuſtain ſuch a ſuperiority of fire, as did conſiderable damage to ſeveral of them, though not without

without ſtill more detriment to thoſe French ſhips with which they had been able to cloſe.

After making various endeavours to approach the enemy, finding they were fruitleſs, from the caution with which they kept the weather-gage, Admiral Hood deſiſted from firing. His loſs of men was very inconſiderable; but five of his ſhips ſuffered much from their exceſſive eagerneſs to bring on a cloſe action, which had expoſed them to the enemy's whole fire. Among thoſe who fell in this engagement was Captain Nott, of the Centaur, an officer of acknowledged merit.

On the thirtieth of April, Admiral Hood made another effort to gain the wind of the enemy, in order to renew the fight; but after employing the whole day to that purpoſe ineffectually, on being apprized of the bad condition of ſeveral of his ſhips, he thought it moſt prudent to ſteer for the iſland of Antigua, to repair their damages. The French Admiral, on perceiving this motion, followed him with his whole fleet, and preſſed ſo cloſe upon his rear, that the Britiſh Admiral was compelled to make a ſtand for its protection: it was ſo reſolute and well conducted, that, notwithſtanding his great ſuperiority, no other advantage was gained by the enemy than remaining unattacked in ſight of the Britiſh fleet.

After it had been ſufficiently refitted, and joined by the ſhips under Admiral Rodney, he proceeded to Barbadoes, in order to be at hand to obſerve the movements of the enemy.

The Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, had, in the mean time, formed a project for ſurpriſing St. Lucia, the ſituation of which enabled the Britiſh fleet to keep the former iſland in continual alarm, and to diſcover and counteract all the motions of the French. To this intent, on the night of the tenth of May, he landed a ſtrong de-

tachment at St. Lucia, and ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender. But though it was at this time far from numerous, the commanders, after returning a reſolute anſwer to the meſſage, prepared themſelves with ſo much judgment and courage to receive the enemy, that they quickly found an obſtinate reſiſtance would be made.

On the twelfth Count de Graſſe, at the head of twenty-five ſail of the line, ſtood in for Gros Iſlet Bay, where he intended to caſt anchor; but the fire from the batteries on ſhore obliged him to bear away without attempting it. The Marquis de Bouille was not more ſucceſsful on his ſide. The diſpoſitions made by General St. Leger were ſo advantageous, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the force under his command, that the French did not dare to proceed in their intended attack, and withdrew with the whole armament to Martinico.

To compenſate for this failure, a large body of French troops was diſpatched to effect a landing on the iſland of Tobago. On their appearance off the iſland on the twenty-third of May, an expreſs being ſent to Admiral Rodney, ſix ſhips of the line were ordered to its aſſiſtance, under Admiral Drake, with a reinforcement of troops, under General Skeene.—Admiral Drake, on his arrival in ſight of Tobago, diſcovered the whole French fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, between him and the iſland. This rendering it impoſſible to fulfil his commiſſion, he returned to Barbadoes.

In the mean time the French had landed their troops, to the number of three thouſand regulars. The whole force collected to oppoſe them did not much exceed four hundred men, conſiſting chiefly of planters.

The great ſuperiority of the enemy made it neceſſary for them to retire to a very ſtrong eminence, from whence they could diſcern their motions, and

command

command a view of the whole iſland. They were cloſely inveſted by the French on every ſide: but they defended themſelves with ſo much vigour, that the enemy, exaſperated at a reſiſtance which they repreſented to the inhabitants as entirely uſeleſs, and proceeding from mere obſtinacy, threatened to deſtroy their plantations and property, in caſe they continued it beyond the term of twenty-four hours.

But theſe threats did not in the leaſt intimidate them. They perſiſted as reſolutely as ever in throwing every poſſible obſtruction in the way of the enemy. They defended the poſt to which they had retired during the ſpace of eight days, though expoſed to all the inconveniences of the weather, from the want of covering.

A large reinforcement arriving from Martinico, with the Marquis de Bouille, accompanied with the whole French fleet, under the Count de Graſſe, they were now ſo cloſely preſſed on all ſides, that very little hopes remained that they would be able to maintain their ground, eſpecially after receiving notice that a body of troops intended for their aſſiſtance, had been obliged to put back, to avoid falling into the hands of the French.

This news did not however diſcourage them, — Reſolving to hold out to the laſt extremity, they now prepared to quit the poſt they occupied, in order to take poſſeſſion of another; as the enemy had by dint of numbers made themſelves maſters of ſeveral paſſages through which it would not be practicable to prevent them from penetrating to the ground they had hitherto ſo valiantly maintained.

Early in the morning of the firſt of June, the garriſon began its retreat towards the place propoſed; and before the enemy was apprized of this motion, had taken poſſeſſion of a poſt of great ſtrength and importance. The Marquis de Bouille, highly chagrined at being diſappointed in his ex-

pectations of forcing them in their former poſt, reſolved to put in execution the menaces that had been already held out to them.

He followed the garriſon with all poſſible celerity; but finding they were ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as to ſet his utmoſt efforts at defiance, he ordered ſome plantations to be ſet on fire, and threatened to renew the ſame orders at the expiration of every four hours, until the iſland was ſurrendered.

This execution of the dreadful menaces that had been made, though it did not ſtagger the reſolution of ſome, who had determined to loſe their all rather than ſubmit, overcame the perſeverance of the majority. They inſiſted that a treaty ſhould be opened with the French commander; the military were of the ſame opinion; deeming any farther reſiſtance of no utility, as the want of relief would certainly compel them at laſt to ſubmit.

Governor Fergufon finding it impoſſible to prevent the determination to ſurrender from taking place, thought it moſt prudent, though he refuſed to concur in it at firſt, to interpoſe in making the beſt terms for the inhabitants he could in the preſent circumſtances obtain. His mediation was ſo effectual, that the terms granted to them were highly favourable, being nearly the ſame as thoſe that took place at the capitulation of Dominica.

As ſoon as Admiral Rodney was informed that, contrary to his expectations, Count de Graſſe had ſailed from Martinico to ſupport the attack upon Tobago, he weighed anchor immediately, and repaired with the utmoſt ſpeed to that iſland; but found, on his arrival, on the fifth of June, that it had already ſurrendered two days before.

After receiving this intelligence, Admiral Rodney ſtood after the French fleet; which having deſcried towards the Grena dilla Iſlands, on the afternoon of that day, he neared it conſiderably before ſun-ſet;

ſun-ſet; but their ſituation was ſuch, as made it highly dangerous to attack them, from the great hazard of being entangled among the Grenadillas, and carried into the channel between Grenada and the Spaniſh main: here, from the exceſſive rapidity of the currents, the Britiſh fleet would have been driven far to leeward, while the French fleet, by anchoring in the harbour of that iſland, now in their poſſeſſion, would have been able to regain its ſtation to windward much more expeditiouſly than the former:—a circumſtance that might have been attended with the loſs of Barbadoes, before the Britiſh fleet could arrive in time to its relief.

As from the ſuperiority of the French fleet, Admiral Rodney was induced to think it would riſk an engagement, he kept to the windward of St. Vincent's during that night, and gave orders that all the lights of his fleet ſhould be made as conſpicuous as poſſible to the enemy, that in caſe they were deſirous of engaging him, they might be ſure their wiſhes would be complied with the next day.

But, contrary to the deſire and expectation of the Britiſh Admiral, at day-light next morning no enemy was in ſight: they had tacked in the night, and withdrawn to Courland Bay, in Tobago. This was a heavy diſappointment to the whole fleet. Not doubting, that confiding in their great ſuperiority, the French would not have receded from ſo marked a challenge, the ſhips had been cleared for action with the utmoſt alacrity; and both officers and ſeamen expreſſed an eagerneſs and impatience that promiſed the moſt vigorous exertions.

The loſs of Tobago, however mortifying, was not an event of any deciſion, and did not ſeem to have raiſed the ſpirits of the enemy. They ſtill continued, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, to avoid an action with as much ſolicitude as ever; and when they ventured out of their harbours, acted

with as much care and circumſpection as if their inferiority had been ſuch as to expoſe them to every danger.

While the French were thus employed in the Weſt Indies, their allies, the Spaniards, were endeavouring to recover thoſe provinces on the continent of North America which they had loſt in the preceding war. The ſucceſs of Don Bernardo de Galvez at Mobile the foregoing year, encouraged him to plan an expedition for the preſent againſt Penſacola, the principal Britiſh ſettlement in Weſt Florida.

In order to forward this deſign, he repaired to the Havannah, where great preparations were making for it; but an accident retarded it, ſimilar to thoſe that had been lately experienced in the Britiſh and French iſlands,—a dreadful hurricane aſſailed the Spaniſh fleet on its ſetting out for this expedition: four ſhips of the line were loſt, beſides many others, with all the people on board, to the amount of more than two thouſand.

The damage received by the Spaniſh fleet was ſuch, that it was obliged to put back to the Havannah to be repaired. As ſoon as it was in a condition for ſea, an embarkation was made of near eight thouſand men; at the head of which, accompanied with five ſail of the line, Don Bernardo de Galvez proceeded for Penſacola, where he arrived on the ninth of March, eighty-one.

Againſt this force, which was ſhortly after augmented by the arrival of ten ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, General Campbell, who commanded at Penſacola, had hardly more than one thouſand men to oppoſe, conſiſting of a few regulars and ſeamen, with the inhabitants. The entrance of the harbour, which was the principal object of defence, was guarded by two ſmall armed veſſels; but they were inſufficient to ſecond the batteries that had

been

been erected for its protection; and these, without the assistance of some ships of force, were incompetent to the resistance of a vigorous attack.

Such was the condition of Pensacola when the Spaniards appeared before it. Notwithstanding the formidable strength brought by Don Bernardo de Galvez, he met with an opposition which he had not expected. Every inch of ground was disputed with the utmost obstinacy. The passage into the harbour was not forced without great difficulty; nor were the vessels taken that defended it. After setting fire to them, their companies withdrew to the garrison.

After entering the harbour, and effecting a landing, the Spaniards finding, from the dispositions made by the garrison, that the most resolute defence was intended, were obliged to invest the place in form, and make their approaches with all due caution and regularity. The besieged, on the other hand, found them full employment; no opportunity was lost of interrupting their progress, by a continual and spirited fire, and by making occasional sallies; all of which were more or less successful, and struck at the same time the besiegers with astonishment, from the handfuls of men with which they were executed.

The Spanish General was the more incensed at this resistance, as he knew that no relief could arrive to the garrison, either by sea or land, adequate to the encounter of such a force as he commanded; and that, of course, all that could be done by the besieged was to prolong the date of their surrender. His troops were all regulars; the naval strength with him was under the command of Don Joseph Solano, one of the boldest and most expert seamen in the Spanish service; the siege was conducted by able engineers; and he had an artillery, to use the

expression

expreſſion of his own officers, fit to have been employed againſt Gibraltar itſelf.

With all theſe advantages, ſuch was the conduct and reſolution of General Campbell, and the firmneſs and bravery with which he was ſeconded by his officers and men, as well as by Governor Cheſter, at the head of the inhabitants, that after the ſiege had been carried on without intermiſſion near the ſpace of two months,—though the enemy was far from being deficient in ſpirit and activity, they ſaw little hopes of its ſpeedy termination.

Deſpairing of making any effectual impreſſion by means of their cannon, they had erected a battery of mortar-pieces, with which they bombarded a redoubt that commanded the main avenue to the place. On the morning of the eighth of May, a ſhell accidentally burſting open the door of the powder magazine under the redoubt, it was blown up, with the loſs of near an hundred men, killed and wounded.

The enemy inſtantly advanced to profit of the diſorder into which the garriſon was thrown by ſo unforeſeen an accident. Fortunately for the garriſon, two flank-works remained unhurt, from both which they kept up ſo heavy a fire upon the aſſailants, that they were obliged to retire with great loſs. This afforded leiſure to carry off the wounded, with ſome of the artillery, and to ſpike the reſt. The enemy, however, having recovered themſelves, and preparing for a general ſtorm, it was thought proper to abandon the flank-works, and withdraw into the body of the place.

The poſſeſſion now taken by the enemy of thoſe outworks gave them ſuch advantages, that the place was no longer tenable. The ſituation of theſe out-works, on a riſing ground, enabled them to command the battery oppoſite to their chief approach with their ſmall arms, and to ſingle out the

the men at their guns. In this extremity, honourable terms of capitulation were propoſed to the Spaniſh General; to which he readily conſented: and the place was ſurrendered to him on the tenth of May, eighty-one, after a ſiege of two months complete.

The ſucceſſes of Spain in this remote part of the world, did not, however, compenſate for the conſtant diſappointment of all its efforts againſt Gibraltar. The ſiege of this important fortreſs was continued at a prodigious expence, but without making the leaſt progreſs. No more had been accompliſhed by the fleet and army that inveſted it, than to reduce the garriſon to great ſtraits for want of a proper quantity of proviſions; but this was an inconvenience to which it ſubmitted with a firmneſs and alacrity truly aſtoniſhing, and highly meritorious.

From the departure of Admiral Rodney, in the middle of February, the garriſon waited till the month of October, without making any alteration in the uſual rations; but as the winter was approaching, the apprehenſion of the danger and difficulty that might attend the ſending of ſupplies at that time of the year, induced Governor Elliott to reduce the allowance of bread and of meat, and to make ſome other regulations neceſſary for enforcing the ſtricteſt œconomy in the article of food.

In the beginning of the year eighty-one, proviſions began to be extremely ſcarce, through the expenditure of almoſt all that remained in the public ſtores, and the indefatigable vigilance of the enemy's cruizers, in cutting off the communication by ſea. About the middle of February the town-bakers left off work, for want of flour; and many of the poorer ſort wanted bread. At this time the price of freſh proviſions was exceſſive. Small pigs

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ſold at two guineas, turkeys at three, geeſe at thirty ſhillings, fowls and ducks at ten ſhillings; damaged biſcuit a ſhilling the pound, peaſe eighteen pence; and all other neceſſaries in proportion. The ſcarcity of fuel was more felt than of any other article, as it ſometimes happened to be hardly ſufficient for the dreſſing of victuals.

The diſtreſſes of the garriſon were well known in England, as well as the abſolute neceſſity of relieving them without delay. But the numerous demands of aſſiſtance from the various quarters of the world where the war was now waging, rendered this ſervice, however indiſpenſible, a matter of the greateſt difficulty.

The fleets of France and Spain were at this period lying ready prepared in port, for the purpoſe of obſtructing any ſuccours to this fortreſs. The force at Breſt was calculated at twenty-ſix ſail of the line, and that at Cadiz at thirty.

To encounter this formidable armament, no greater ſtrength could be collected than twenty-eight ſhips of the line; which indeed was no ſmall effort, conſidering the prodigious exertions that Great Britain was at this hour making againſt ſuch a number of enemies.

This fleet was commanded by the Admirals Darby, Digby, and Roſs; all officers of great profeſſional excellence. — It was, however, much doubted whether they would be able to accompliſh ſo arduous a deſign as the relieving of Gibraltar in the face of ſo formidable an oppoſition.

They ſailed from Portſmouth about the middle of March, eighty-one, with a convoy of four hundred merchant-men and tranſports, deſtined for the Weſt and the Eaſt Indies. The neceſſity of taking in proviſions detained them ſometime at Corke in Ireland; from whence they proceeded with the whole fleet for the places of their deſtination. The merchant-men

chant-men having left them, to continue their reſpective voyages, they ſteered directly for Cadiz, where they found the Spaniſh fleet moored in the harbour.

Great had been the threats of Spain, that its naval ſtrength would cruſh that of Great Britain, were it to attempt the relief of Gibraltar. To this intent, the number of ſhips compoſing the fleet at Cadiz was highly magnified, and every kind of exaggeration uſed, in order to deter the Britiſh Miniſtry from hazarding ſuch a meaſure. The Spaniſh Admiral, Don Louis de Cordova, was ordered to cruize on the coaſts of Spain and Portugal, with the oſtenſible view of meeting and fighting the Britiſh fleet.

After keeping the ſea about the ſpace of three weeks, he was accidentally informed of its approach; upon which he withdrew expeditiouſly into Cadiz; ſufficiently proving thereby to the world, how little he dared to look the Engliſh in the face upon terms of equality.

France, on the other hand, was ſo taken up with the vaſt projects that ſhe had formed in the Weſt Indies, North America, and the Eaſt, that ſhe reſerved her naval ſtrength totally for thoſe purpoſes; thinking, probably, that Spain ought to prove herſelf able to provide effectually for the ſafety of her own coaſts.

12th April, 1781. The Britiſh fleet, in the mean time, conveyed the long-wanted ſupplies into Gibraltar. In this, however, it met with great obſtruction from the beſiegers. The gun-boats, already mentioned, were now much increaſed in number and ſtrength of conſtruction; and infeſted the bay in ſuch a manner, as greatly to embarraſs the debarkation of ſtores. As no veſſels of the ſame kind had been yet prepared to oppoſe them,

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it was with much difficulty the mischief they intended could be prevented.

Their intention was to set fire to the store-ships. To this purpose they approached them every morning in hazy weather, to the number of between twenty and thirty, several of them carrying mortar-pieces. As they used both sails and oars, and withdrew on the rising of any breeze, they eluded all pursuit. They occasioned so much trouble, that several stout frigates were obliged to station themselves along the bay, for the protection of the shipping. This did not, however, hinder them from continuing their molestation. It was the greatest grievance to the British officers and seamen; as, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance and activity, they seldom could near these gun-boats sufficiently to do them any damage, while, from continual experience, those who managed them had acquired such habitual dexterity, as to know with the nicest exactness what position to take to do the most effectual execution on any part of the town or bay they had in view.

But these were inconsiderable motives of vexation, compared to the great object now attained:—Gibraltar was now completely relieved, and put into a state that would long enable it to bid defiance to the enemy. This too had been done in a manner equally honourable to Great Britain, and mortifying to Spain as well as to France; of both which it had been the boast, that Admiral Rodney's expedition to Gibraltar in the preceding year, would be the last that the English would ever dare to attempt.

While Europe expressed universal astonishment at the invincible spirit with which the British nation had undertaken and atchieved an exploit of so arduous a nature, the court of Spain, incensed at this unexpected disappointment, determined on the prosecution of its intent with additional exertions.—

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The works before the town were carried on with more vigour than ever, and the moſt tremendous preparations were made to make it feel the reſentment of an exaſperated enemy.

Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heavieſt metal, and with mortar-pieces of the largeſt dimenſions. The number of the former amounted to near two hundred, and of the latter to above fourſcore. The diſcharge from this prodigious artillery was dreadful: it continued day and night, with hardly any intermiſſion, three full weeks, during which one hundred thouſand pounds of gunpowder were conſumed, and four or five thouſand ſhot or ſhells were thrown into the town every twenty-four hours.

The narrow extent of the ſpot upon which this ſhower of deſtruction fell, was too much expoſed to eſcape its effects. The houſes, in number about five hundred, were moſtly deſtroyed, and the inhabitants, computed at more than three thouſand, expericnced every hardſhip that could ariſe from the deſtruction of their dwellings: ſeveral of them were killed, and they were all conſtrained to remove out of the town, and to take ſhelter at a diſtance, under tents, with ſuch accommodations as could be contrived in ſuch a ſcene of confuſion and horror.

On the departure of the fleet, numbers of them took that opportunity of leaving the town, and going home on board the tranſports. Many of them had lived long in the place, in comfortable, and ſome in genteel circumſtances, who were now reduced to great diſtreſs. Governor Elliott's treatment of them was very humane and compaſſionate; they were allowed a free paſſage to England, and were ſupplied with proviſions for the voyage.

In the beginning of June the enemy had relaxed conſiderably in their firing, ſeldom exceeding

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ſix hundred ſhot in a day. They continued gradually to diminiſh it ſo remarkably, that towards the end of Auguſt, they ſeldom fired in the day; and only diſcharged ſix or ſeven, and ſometimes not above three ſhot in the night.

But in default of the batteries at land, the gunboats proved a terrible annoyance. They renewed their attacks every day, and ſeldom failed doing more or leſs of execution; which, though not material, ſerved nevertheleſs to keep the garriſon in perpetual alarms.

In order to reſtrain them, a battery of guns, peculiarly calculated to throw their ſhot to a great diſtance, was erected as near as poſſible to the enemy. As it reached their very camp, it was determined to open it upon them as often as the gunboats made their attacks. This being ſoon perceived by the enemy, they thought it prudent to deſiſt, in ſome meaſure, from a mode of hoſtility which they found was conſtantly productive of another, no leſs deſtructive to themſelves.

By the cloſe of November, the beſiegers had, with immenſe toil and expence, brought their works to that ſtate of perfection they intended.—The care and ingenuity which had been employed upon them were extraordinary; and it was generally expected that they would be accompanied with the end propoſed. The beſt engineers in France and Spain had united their reſpective abilities upon this occaſion, and both kingdoms were filled with the moſt ſanguine expectations of their ſucceſs.

While Europe ſtood, as it were, in ſuſpenſe concerning the fate of Gibraltar, and many imagined, from the prodigious efforts of the beſiegers, it could not make a much longer reſiſtance, the Britiſh Governor was meditating in what manner to overthrow at once their long cheriſhed hopes, by the

total deſtruction of what had required ſo much time, ſkill, and labour to accompliſh.

In the night of the twenty-ſeventh of November, a choſen body of two thouſand men was aſſembled, in order to ſally from the town, and deſtroy the enemy's advanced works and batteries. They marched out with great order and ſilence, about two o'clock in the morning, under the command of Brigadier-General Roſs. They proceeded with the utmoſt ſpeed to the enemy's works, which they attacked and ſtormed with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity. The enemy were thrown into ſuch confuſion, that they fled on every ſide. The guns and mortars on the batteries were all ſpiked. The artillery-men, artificers, and ſailors, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that in the ſpace of an hour, the magazines of powder were blown up, the ſtore-houſes of arms, ammunition, and military implements of every kind, and all the works that had been conſtructed, were ſet on fire, and totally conſumed. The damage done to the enemy upon this occaſion was prodigious: it was computed at near two millions ſterling.

This bold and well conducted action ſtruck the enemy with a ſurprize and dread of the reſolution and dexterity of the beſieged, from which it was evident by their ſubſequent operations, they were a long time recovering. The hopes entertained by their beſt officers began to diminiſh. Nothing but the diſgrace of abandoning an enterprize on which the honour of the Spaniſh nation ſeemed in a manner to depend, prompted them to continue it, after this deciſive proof of the precarioufneſs of all their efforts and exertions.

The diſcouragement occaſioned throughout Spain by this event was no leſs viſible. It affected all claſſes in ſuch a manner as to excite a general deſpondency; to which, indeed, the averſeneſs of the

Spaniſh naval commanders to riſk an encounter with the Britiſh fleet powerfully contributed.

Nor was the Court of Madrid backward to complain that France had been very deficient in her promiſes to ſupport the Spaniſh fleet in ſo neceſſary a meaſure as that of intercepting the ſupplies deſtined for Gibraltar. To this neglect in their ally, they attributed the continuation of the ſiege, and, of conſequence, the loſſes and diſappointments that were continually attending the army that was beſieging it, and the little hopes that now remained of their being able to effect its reduction.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIX.

Proceedings in Parliament.—Tranſactions in Holland.—Naval Operations againſt the Dutch.

1781.

THE Parliamentary debates upon thoſe various ſubjects which were the conſequences of the American War, employed, as uſual, the attention of the public. But they were not carried on with that energy and perſeverance during this ſeſſion, which had attended them in the laſt. Oppoſition was in ſome meaſure grown weary of a contention which was evidently fruitleſs, and produced infinite pains and ſtruggles to no purpoſe. The nation itſelf was become careleſs and inattentive in many reſpects to the proceedings of Parliament in all caſes of this nature, from a conviction that whatever were the deſires of the public, they would be contradicted and ſlighted, if oppoſite to thoſe of miniſtry.

It was an object of no ſmall ſurpriſe, that while meetings were held in ſo many counties, cities, and towns, for the purpoſe of reprobating Parliamentary meaſures, and petitioning the legiſlature for a total change in the political ſyſtem of this country, the members choſen by thoſe very places, ſhould act and vote in manifeſt and conſtant oppoſition to the ſenſe of their conſtituents.

The famous plan of reformation propoſed by Mr. Burke the preceding year, had been received by the nation at large with the higheſt approbation and applauſe. The people were fully ſenſible of the indiſpenſible neceſſity of uſing the ſtricteſt œconomy, in the critical circumſtances wherein the

realm was placed. The general argument was, that our enemies having ſet us the example, it would be the height of impolicy not to follow it. The very conſiderable addition expected from this plan to the national income, had given it a popularity which it was imagined would induce miniſtry to coincide with it. Notwithſtanding the rejection it had met with from the laſt Parliament, it was ſtill hoped by numbers, that from its evident utility, it would find, on mature conſideration, a majority to ſupport it in the preſent.

In compliance with theſe expectations, Mr. Burke ventured again on the fifteenth of February, eighty-one, to bring it forward, and to recommend it with every argument which his knowledge could ſuggeſt, and his eloquence could enforce. The dangerous and expenſive war in which we were engaged with ſo many open or clandeſtine enemies, the prodigious efforts we were continually obliged to make to face them in every part of the globe, as they were obvious motives to alledge, ſo they were inſiſted upon with his uſual energy.

He took notice, at the ſame time, that in ſo perilous a ſeaſon as the preſent, ſuch a ſcheme as he now propoſed ought to have proceeded from the miniſters themſelves. They knew the wants of the nation, and ought therefore to have been the firſt to adminiſter to them, through thoſe means which from their ſtation and influence were more particularly within their reach. Inſtead of diſcouraging this ſcheme, it behoved them to ſecond it with all their power, and to give it that official weight, without which it could not ſucceed.

He addreſſed himſelf upon this occaſion to the Members of the Houſe, as newly choſen by the people, to rectify the miſtakes of their predeceſſors, and to avoid being guilty of thoſe miſdemeanors, and neglect in the diſcharge of their duty,

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which had caſt an odium upon their memory. He reminded them in the ſtrongeſt terms of the remarkable reſolutions that had been paſſed concerning the Influence of the Crown. He repreſented them as a legacy bequeathed by the laſt Parliament to the nation, by way of atoning for that improper ſubſerviency to the will of miniſters, of which it had been guilty in ſo many inſtances.

Theſe reſolutions it was now the duty and buſineſs of the preſent repreſentatives of the people, to ſtand by with firmneſs and fidelity: the intention of paſſing them not having yet been fulfilled, it remained now to give them that virtue and efficacy to which they were entitled, from their evident and acknowledged propriety. As the diſſolution of the late Parliament had prevented it from compleating what it had ſo judiciouſly begun, it behoved the preſent to accompliſh it in the ſtead of thoſe who had lead the way in ſo ſalutary a work: were they to neglect it, the public would then know, to whom they were to impute the failure of a ſcheme, to which they ſo ardently wiſhed all manner of ſucceſs.

After raiſing the juſt hopes and expectations of the people, it would be a diſappointment, which they would have reaſon never to forgive, were they to ſee them fruſtrated; but this he confided would not be caſe. The character of thoſe who compoſed the Houſe, was too much at ſtake, to diſoblige their conſtituents in ſo reaſonable a demand, as that of eaſing their burdens in a manner that was calculated to produce ſo much public benefit, with ſo little detriment to private individuals.

The violence with which the majority of the nation had complained of the preſſures it felt, had been the principal motive that had inclined the laſt Parliament to adopt the reſolutions now laid before them; but it would be much

meritorious in the preſent, to give them countenance and protection, from a conviction of their propriety, than to conſent to them merely through dint of importunity and clamour.

Adminiſtration having determined to oppoſe with the moſt invincible ſpirit, that multitude of enemies which was perpetually encreaſing, it behoved them to provide for the conteſt which they were ſo reſolutely bent not to give up. One of the means of doing this effectually, was to convince the public, that no claſs, no rank, was exempted from participating in thoſe efforts and labours for the common good, which were recommended to the chearful acquieſcence of the nation, with ſo much warmth and earneſtneſs.

The principal example of perſeverance and ſuffering for the welfare of the ſtate, ought indiſputably to be given by thoſe who ruled it. The conſpicuity of their ſtation carried a force and influence, which commanded univerſal imitation. While they led the way, none would refuſe to follow. It was from them that nations derived the ſpirit and magnanimity, which enabled them to ſurmount obſtacles, and become formidable to their enemies. It was therefore incumbent upon them to diſplay that fortitude in encountering difficulties, which they ſo ſtrenuouſly required in others.

Economy was now become more neceſſary than at any former period, as the kingdom had never experienced ſuch diſtreſs as at the preſent. Whoever wiſhed to ſee the king great and potent, ought to adviſe him to retrench every unneceſſary department in his houſe, and apply what was ſaved in this manner, to the maintenance and augmentation of his fleets and armies. It was the duty of the Houſe of Commons, even on a ſuppoſition they were entirely the creatures and dependents of the crown, to repreſent to their Sovereign, how much

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it was incumbent on him to uſe the ſtricteſt frugality, in order to render himſelf powerful and dreaded by his enemies. Economy was the foundation of ſucceſs; it produced wealth and ſtrength, and gave life and vigour to all great deſigns.

Such was the ſubſtance of the various arguments uſed by Mr. Burke, to ſupport the plan of reformation he had ſo much at heart. He addreſſed himſelf to the miniſtry on this occaſion with great earneſtneſs and fervour, entreating them to be candid and explicit in their aſſiſtance, or oppoſition of the ſcheme he once more ventured to propoſe. If they meant to befriend his endeavours, he requeſted them to do it effectually, but if they meant to thwart him, he deſired they would be expeditious and deciſive, that no time, nor labour, might be loſt through fallacious expectations of unintended favour and concurrence.

In conſequence of this repreſentation, he moved that a bill might be brought in for the better regulation of the civil eſtabliſhment, by limiting penſions, and ſuppreſſing ſeveral uſeleſs offices, and employing the ſums ariſing from ſuch retrenchment, to the ſervice of the public.

The miniſtry, from motives of decency, did not oppoſe the bill on its firſt introduction; but when it came to a ſecond reading, it was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty three, to one hundred and ninety; and a reſolution paſſed to put it off ſix months.

Thus ended for the preſent, an attempt, which from the popularity with which it was favoured, had, for a while, been ſpoken of as a meaſure no leſs promiſſory than highly deſerving of ſucceſs.

The next object of parliamentary diſcuſſion was the loan to defray the expences of the coming year, amounting to the ſum of twelve millions. Miniſtry was accuſed of having made a diſadvantage-

ous bargain for the public; as a proof of which it was ſtated, that the price of the new ſtock was ten per cent above par.

It was objected in the Houſe by Mr. Fox, that the money might have been borrowed upon much better terms; and that the manner of obtaining the loan was ſtill more blamable in a political conſideration, as it threw near a million into the hands of the miniſter, to diſpoſe of at his pleaſure, without any parliamentary controul; the evident conſequence of which, would be a diſtribution of it among thoſe who ſupported his meaſures.

The reply of miniſtry was, that though the loan was procured upon advantageous terms to the lenders; it could not be conſidered as injurious to the public, when the difficulty of levying money at any rate was duly weighed. The times required great condeſcenſion from government in the article of borrowing money. Thoſe who poſſeſſed it knew how much it was wanted, and availed themſelves of the neceſſities of the ſtate accordingly.

One of the principal allegations againſt the miniſter upon this occaſion, was that he had refuſed a loan of as much out of no leſs a ſum than thirty eight millions, as he might have choſen to borrow at no more than five per cent. intereſt. The offers came from perſons of noted wealth and reſponſibility, but he declined it in favour of thoſe, whom he looked upon as more manageable and ſubvervient to his views.

The miniſter's anſwer to this charge was that in his acceptance of offers, he had been partial to no ſet of individuals whatever; but had made as beneficial an agreement as lay in his power, with thoſe whom he thought able to fulfil it, without reſpect of perſons.

The bills to exclude contractors from parliament, and to reſtrain officers in the revenue from voting at

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parliamentary elections, were again propoſed this ſeſſion; the firſt by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, the ſecond by Mr. Crewe, the original movers of both; but they met with the ſame rejection as formerly.

Nor were the promoters of the petition from the Engliſh counties more fortunate. A delegation had been appointed by theſe in order to inforce their demands. They met in London to the number of near forty, and prepared a remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, comprehending the ſubſtance of the petition already preſented.

But the title of delegates proved ſo alarming to numbers even of ſuch as wiſhed well to the cauſe they were appointed to maintain, that the delegates themſelves came to a reſolution to drop it, and to act in no other light than as private individuals.

In this capacity, they drew up a petition which was laid before the Houſe of Commons. Still, however the denomination of delegates was brought into ſevere notice, and condemned as an aſſumption of authority incompatible with that of the Houſe; the Members of which were ſtrenuouſly aſſerted to be the only lawful Delegates of the people of England. All others were unconſtitutional; and to connive even at the exiſtence of them, was ſubmitting to the ſetting up of a power in this country, independent of the ſupreme authority of the ſtate.

In conſequence of the unfavourable idea in which they were viewed, their petition met with the moſt violent oppoſition from the miniſterial party, and was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twelve, to one hundred and thirty-five.

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, an attempt was made to bring forward a plan of reconciliation with America. The immenſe variety of arguments that had originated from this topic, was again renewed upon this occaſion, by thoſe who oppoſed, or ſe-

conded the motion. Among other allegations, the inutility of continuing a war, wherein victory or defeat were equally detrimental, was ſtrongly inſiſted upon. The action at Guildford between the Royaliſts and the Americans, was adduced as an unanſwerable proof, that the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms in the field, produced none of the conſequences uſually attending the gain of battles. Had Lord Cornwallis been routed, he could hardly have acted otherwiſe than he found himſelf compelled to do, in conſequence of that engagement. He had been obliged to retreat before the enemy he had beaten, and to ſeek a place where to ſhelter his troops from the attacks and incurſions of thoſe whom he had defeated, and whoſe country he had over-run. If ſuch were the fruits of victory in America, the ſooner war could be terminated there, the more ſafe and prudent ſuch a meaſure muſt be acknowledged. After long and animated debates, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

In the mean time, the rupture with Holland, and the loſſes incurred by the Dutch, occaſioned great diſcontents and complaints in ſome of the Provinces: that of Zealand in particular, which from its commercial intereſts, was more cloſely connected with Great Britain than the others, expreſſed a ſtrong averſeneſs to the hoſtile diſpoſition they profeſt. It preſented a memorial to the States General, ſignifying its opinion, that a negociation ſhould be ſet on foot, in order to put an end to the difference between Great Britain and the Republic, and reſtore the harmony that had ſo long ſubſiſted between them, and earneſtly requeſting that ſuch a meaſure might be ſpeedily adopted.

This memorial was ſtrongly reinforced by the merchants and trading people of the city of Middleburgh, the capital of Zealand. They repre-

ſented in the moſt free and explicit terms, that the Engliſh and Dutch could not go to war with each other, but to their mutual injury: they alledged the long and cloſe intimacy between the Britiſh nation, and the people of Zealand: this province was full of Engliſh traders; the number of thoſe who were ſettled in Middleburgh alone, amounted to near two thouſand. A war with England muſt therefore prove an event highly deſtructive to them, as it would indeed deeply affect the intereſts of the whole Republic.

Theſe remonſtrances, however well founded, made no impreſſion on the States. The French faction was now become ſo powerful, that all reaſoning and argument was over-ruled, and the reſolution taken to proſecute hoſtilities againſt Great Britain with the utmoſt vigour.

They applied to the courts of Peterſburgh, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, claiming their aſſiſtance in virtue of the compact of neutrality entered into with thoſe powers; and alledging, that the declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, was ſolely occaſioned by their acceſſion to the treaty of neutrality.

But their ſolicitations, though very urgent and preſſing, did not produce the effect that was intended. They had demanded an immediate reinforcement of ſhips of war; but the jealouſy entertained of the Britiſh power, was not greater than the dread of expoſing themſelves to its reſentment, in the different members of the armed neutrality. They contented themſelves with remaining on the defenſive; and were not in the leaſt inclined to give any further provocation to Great Britain. Perhaps too, they thought the combination already formed againſt it, was fully ſufficient for the purpoſes they had in view; and that by adding to it, that balance of naval power, for the

preſervation

preſervation of which it had been framed, might, contrary to their intentions, incline too much on the other ſide.

The ſituation of the ſeven United Provinces at this juncture, was very different from what it had been upon former emergencies of this nature. Notwithſtanding the Dutch are inconteſtably a very brave people, they were now, through a long diſuſe of arms, become very ill adapted, and unprepared for war. Relying too much on the difficulties wherein Great Britain was involved, they imagined that an open and avowed declaration of hoſtilities againſt them, was a meaſure they had not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend. Britain ought rather to fear they might themſelves lead the way in taking ſuch a ſtep.

The naval force of the ſeven United Provinces bore at this time no proportion to its ſplendour in the days of yore, when it was able to meet the united ſtrength of England and France on the ocean, and was equally the terror and the admiration of their enemies. Fourſcore years were now elapſed, ſince they had been under the neceſſity of proſecuting any naval war. During this long interval, their ſhipping had been totally ingroſſed by the occupations of peace and commerce; and Britain was the laſt power, againſt which it had been expected, they ſhould be firſt compelled to draw the ſword.

On a review of their marine, it was found very inadequate to the ideas entertained by the reſt of Europe. They were fully aware of the greatneſs and eminence of the peril to which their trade was evidently expoſed, from the vaſt ſtrength of the enemy with whom they had to contend, together with his proximity and the enterpriſingneſs of his diſpoſition. But notwithſtanding the importance of preſerving their commerce, the only foundation of their power and proſperity, the

were unable at this time to equip any more than eleven ſhips of the line; two of theſe carried ſeventy guns and five hundred and fifty men, the nine others ſixty guns and four hundred and fifty men. The remainder of their fleet conſiſted of fifteen ſhips of fifty guns, and three hundred men, two of forty and two hundred and fifty, fourteen of thirty-ſix and two hundred and thirty, thirteen of twenty and one hundred and twenty, beſides ſome armed veſſels of leſſer force.

This was but a ſhadow of their ancient power at ſea; but depending on the ſupport of the enemies to Great Britain, they were not without hopes to make head againſt ſuch detached parts of her maritime forces, as ſhe could ſpare from the neceſſary defence of her numerous poſſeſſions in ſo many parts of the globe.

France at the ſame time, as a further encouragement, promiſed to take their diſtant ſettlements under her own care and protection, and, to exert her utmoſt for the recovering of thoſe that had been taken by the Engliſh. Theſe ſettlements were yet in a ſtate of infancy; but bid fair under good management to become in time of the utmoſt value, eſpecially ſhould they remain in the hands of ſuch active and ſpirited poſſeſſors as the Engliſh. The yearly produce of the two colonies of Iſſequibo and Demerary, was already rated at ten thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, five millions of pounds of coffee, eight hundred thouſand pounds of cotton, beſides a large proportion of rum, cocoa and indigo. This was conſidered as no more than a beginning. The ſoil of both was rich and luxuriant in the higheſt degree, and promiſed, when arrived to a proper cultivation, to exceed any European plantation in that part of the world.

In order to procure to themſelves as many friends and favourers as poſſible and to remove

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the imputation of impolicy and inconſiderateneſs, the States General publiſhed a long and much laboured manifeſto, wherein they endeavoured to juſtify their conduct towards Great Britain in the preſent circumſtances. But the multiplicity of arguments and reaſonings with which it was fraught, did by no means convince the clear ſighted, of the rectitude of acceding to the confederation formed againſt Great Britain, in conjunction with the Houſe of Bourbon. This was in fact adding ſtrength to the compact framed between the members of that already too potent family, whoſe enmity they had much more reaſon to dread than that of the Britiſh nation, and of whoſe ambition they had more than once had ample experience.

One of the firſt objects in contemplation among the mercantile claſſes in Holland, was the interception of the fleet, that was conveying to England the ſpoils of Statia. Preparations were made to that intent; but they were not ready at the time propoſed; and fortune threw this rich prize into other hands.

Intelligence arriving in France, that this valuable fleet was on its way homewards, eſcorted only by four ſhips of the line, twice as many were diſpatched under M. de la Motte Piquet, who fell in with it on the ſecond of May eighty-one, and captured more than half the convoy. The remainder took ſhelter in the neareſt ports of Ireland.

The Britiſh miniſtry was meditating on the other hand, in what manner to reduce moſt effectually the power of Holland. The readieſt method to compaſs this end, was obviouſly by attacking its foreign ſettlements; which from a long duration of peace, were not ſufficiently prepared to reſiſt a ſudden and vigorous attempt.

To this intent a ſquadron was fitted out, conſiſting of a ſeventy-four a ſixty-four and three fifty gun ſhips, with ſome frigates and other veſſels. A body of three thouſand men in tranſports accompanied it. Commodore Johnſton commanded the ſquadron, and General Meadows the troops.

The object of this expedition was the Cape of Good Hope; by depriving the Dutch of which, their communication with the Eaſt Indies would have been materially interrupted, if not in a manner cut off. Alarmed at the danger of loſing this important poſſeſſion, they applied to the court of France, for timely aſſiſtance againſt the deſign, which, they doubted not, was in agitation in England.

France being little leſs intereſted than Holland itſelf, in the preſervation of this place, readily exerted itſelf for the protection of it againſt Great Britain. M. de Suffrein, an officer of great courage, ſailed immediately with five ſhips of the line, beſide frigates, and a body of land forces to oppoſe the Britiſh armament.

Commodore Johnſton had in his way to the Cape, ſtopped at the Cape Verd Iſlands, to wood and water his ſhips, and refreſh his men. He now lay at anchor in Port Praya in the iſland of St. Jago. So little was the approach of an enemy ſuſpected, that numbers belonging to the troops and ſquadron, were at that time on ſhore, employed in occupations relative to the ſhipping, or from motives of relaxation.

On the morning of the ſixteenth of April, the French ſquadron under M. de Suffrein was deſcried coming round a point at the eaſtern extremity of the harbour. On this diſcovery, ſignals were expeditiouſly thrown out for the people aſhore, to haſten on board, and every preparation was made to receive the enemy.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding the Britiſh ſquadron was completely ſurpriſed on this occaſion, it ſtood the attack of a much ſuperior force, with a coolneſs and reſolution, at which the French were equally aſtoniſhed and perplexed; as they had promiſed themſelves an eaſy victory from the inferiority of the Engliſh, and the diſorder in which they found them.

M. de Suffrein at the head of his line of battle ſhips, penetrated into the midſt of the Britiſh ſhipping, which including Eaſt Indiamen and tranſports, amounted to about forty ſail. Three of the French ſhips dropped their anchors, and commenced a heavy cannonade; which was returned with great ſpirit from every ſhip in the Britiſh fleet, that could bring its guns to bear upon them; the Eaſt India men particularly ſeconded the ſhips of war with great promptitude and effect.

While M. de Suffrein lay at anchor engaging the fleet, his two other line of battle ſhips ranged along the harbour, directing their fire where it could do moſt execution. The fight was continued in this manner during an hour; when one of the three French ſhips at anchor, having loſt her captain, the crew cut her cable and quitted her ſtation. M. de Suffrein's own ſhip was obliged to ſheer off in the ſame manner: the third after loſing all her maſts, was towed off in a moſt ſhattered condition, and did not effect her eſcape without the utmoſt difficulty.

They were purſued in their retreat by Commodore Johnſton, who uſed his utmoſt efforts to overtake them; but he was prevented from continuing the purſuit far, by the inferiority of the force he had to follow and encounter them, the detriment it had received in action, the lateneſs of the hour at which he was able to ſtand out to ſea after them, and above all, the danger of being carried out of

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the track of his deſtination, in the very uncertain queſt of a flying enemy.

Thus ended a conflict, wherein the French had not unreaſonably promiſed themſelves the fulleſt ſucceſs, when it is conſidered at what a diſadvantage they had taken the Engliſh. The honour acquired by theſe in facing and repelling, upon ſo ſhort a notice, an enemy every way ſo ſuperior, was acknowledged to be extraordinary, and made no ſmall impreſſion on thoſe who were competent judges of the uncommon efforts of activity and valour, which they muſt have exerted upon ſo critical an emergency.

Having repaired the damages received in this engagement, the Britiſh ſquadron left Port Praya, on the proſecution of its original plan. Some of the beſt ſailing frigates were diſpatched to explore the ſituation of the enemy. They had the good fortune to capture a Dutch Eaſt Indiaman, laden with warlike ſtores and proviſions, and a large ſum of money for the ſettlements.

They learned at the ſame time, that M. de Suffrein with a fleet of tranſports was arrived at the Cape, and had landed a very conſiderable body of troops for the protection of that Dutch colony. The French had put it into a ſtrong ſtate of defence, and furniſhed it with a numerous garriſon, which, added to the ſtrength already there, exceeded that which was deſtined to attack it.

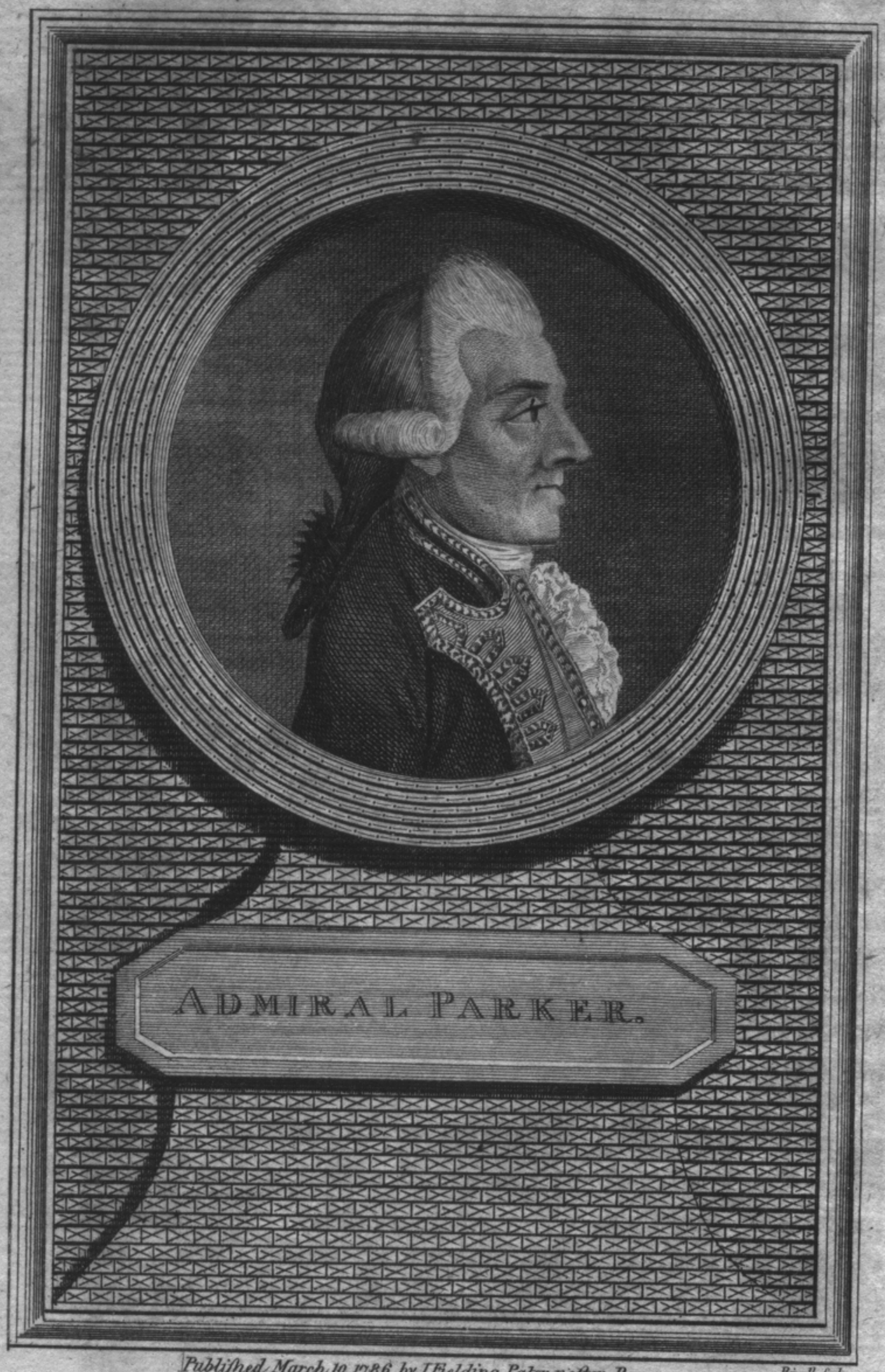
On receiving this intelligence, the Britiſh commanders thought it would be imprudent to perſiſt in the deſign that had been formed againſt that place. In order, however, not to return home without having annoyed the enemy, the armament proceeded to the Bay of Saldana, lying about forty miles north of the Cape, where they had been informed, that a number of Dutch Eaſt Indiamen lay, that were homeward bound, and waited the

arrival of ſome French ſhips of force, before they durſt continue their voyage.

Commodore Johnſton having with great induſtry and perſonal exertion, fully reconnoitred their ſituation, entered the Bay on the twenty-firſt of July, and ſurpriſed them, before they were able to accompliſh the deſtruction of their ſhips, which they had intended ſooner than ſuffer them to fall into his hands. Four out of five were taken, and preſerved from the flames, through the courage and dexterity of the ſeamen. They proved very valuable prizes; none being under a thouſand tons burden: three came from China, and one from Bengal.

An occurrence of a ſingular nature happened on this occaſion at Saldana. Two eaſtern princes, detained in captivity at this place, through the cruel maxims of policy adopted by the Dutch, eſcaped from their confinement, and ſeized the opportunity now offered them, of putting themſelves under the protection of the Britiſh commanders. They were the ſovereigns of Ternate and Tidore, two ſpice iſlands in the Indian ſea, and had from motives of jealouſy been depoſed, and baniſhed from their own country to this part of the world, where they had been treated with great indignity.

The news of theſe tranſactions, added greatly to the clamours of thoſe people in Holland who diſapproved of an inimical conduct towards Great Britain. The adverſe party, however, took occaſion from thence, to inforce the neceſſity of uſing the moſt ſtrenuous endeavours, to prevent any further diſaſters; and to make head againſt the preparations that were now carrying on in England, in order to cut off their communication with the ſouth of Europe, and intercept their trade with the Baltic. The deprivation of this laſt, eſpecially, would reduce them to the greateſt diſtreſs. It would at once



ADMIRAL PARKER.

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Birrell sculp.

once ruin their marine, as it was from thence only they could be ſupplied with naval ſtores: nor would it prove leſs injurious in a ſtill more eſſential reſpect, by ſtopping up the channel through which the ſeven United Provinces were almoſt wholly furniſhed with the quantity of corn neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of their inhabitants.

The critical ſituation of the Dutch was well underſtood in England. The weakneſs of their marine, and the difficulty of putting it on a reſpectable footing were well known; but the immenſe weight of hoſtile power, againſt which Great Britain was obliged to bear up on every ſide, precluded thoſe exertions, of which the utility was apparent, from being carried to a ſufficient extent, for the full accompliſhment of the deſign propoſed.

It was not without great dint of management, that a ſquadron was provided for the purpoſe of watching the motions of the Dutch on their coaſt. They were employed in equipping a number of their ſtouteſt ſhips, for the protection of a large fleet of merchantmen, bound to the Northern Sea. The command of them was given to Admiral Zoutman, a reſolute and experienced ſeaman. The force he had, conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, from ſeventy four to fifty four guns, ten frigates, and ſome other armed veſſels. Moſt of their frigates were very large, and carried an uncommon weight of metal.

The Britiſh ſquadron was commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran officer, of noted intrepidity. He was, at this time, convoying the homeward bound trade from the Baltic, amounting to upwards of an hundred ſail. On the 5th of Auguſt, he fell in with the Dutch ſquadron on the Dogger Bank, accompanying a numerous fleet of merchantmen going to the Baltic. As ſoon as Admiral Parker had provided for the ſafety of his con-

voy, by detaching moſt of his frigates for its protection, he bore away to the enemy. His ſtrength conſiſting of an old eighty gun ſhip, that carried no heavier metal than a fifty, an old ſixty, that had been diſcharged, but lately refitted for ſervice, two ſeventy-fours, a ſixty-four, and a fifty; to which he was obliged to add a frigate of forty-four guns, in order to ſupply the inequality of his line of battle in number to that of the enemy.

The action began at eight in the morning, within leſs than muſket-ſhot diſtance. It laſted near four hours, with equal bravery on each ſide. The fire from the Engliſh ſquadron was kept up with uncommon ſpirit, and did dreadful execution; ſome of the ſhips diſcharged above two thouſand ſhot. The Dutch frigates ſeconded their line with great reſolution, by taking ſuch poſitions, as enabled them to rake the Britiſh ſhipping; which, for want of an adequate proportion of frigates, could not aſſail the enemy in the like manner.

But, notwithſtanding this deficiency, the Dutch frigates were, in a ſhort time, ſilenced, and compelled to withdraw. In the mean time, both ſquadrons had received ſo much damage, that about noon they were become equally unmanageable. The Britiſh Admiral uſed his utmoſt ſkill to keep the ſhips in a line, and to continue the action; but found it impracticable. The Dutch were in the ſame ſituation. After laying to a conſiderable time near each other, the Dutch having ſuffered moſt, did not think it adviſeable to renew the engagement, and in order to ſave the convoy, of which they had charge, and which was of immenſe value, they took the reſolution to bear away with it to the Texel.

But though the Dutch ſquadron effected an eſcape, it was in ſo ſhattered a condition, that it

with the utmoſt difficulty brought into port by the help of the many frigates that fortunately attended it. One of the largeſt ſhips, mounting ſeventy guns, went to the bottom in the night after the action; and moſt of the reſt were rendered totally unſerviceable.

Such was the iſſue of this celebrated engagement, the firſt that had happened between the Engliſh and the Dutch for upwards of a century. The valour and emulation diſplayed by both parties was in no wiſe inferior to that which had been exerted by their reſpective anceſtors, when contending for the empire of the ocean, in the days of Cromwell and Charles the Second.

The ſlain and wounded on board of the Britiſh ſquadron, amounted to about four hundred and fifty, among whom were ſeveral officers of very ſuperior merit; but the ſame liſt on board of the Dutch ſhips, though endeavoured to be concealed, was well known to exceed a thouſand.

The victory was indiſputably on the ſide of the Britiſh Admiral. He remained with his ſquadron on the place of action after the enemy had quitted it. The Dutch ſquadron was obliged to abandon to their own care the merchantmen under its convoy, and theſe were compelled to drop the proſecution of their voyage, and make the beſt of their way to their ſeparate homes.

This was the ſevereſt diſappointment that could have befallen the Dutch; in this fleet were centered the hopes and reſources of the mercantile claſſes, which had been at a vaſt expence in fitting it out for its uſual deſtination to the northern parts of Europe: they now ſaw themſelves totally excluded from that principal fund of their commercial opulence, and obliged, to their great mortification, to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of France for protection on their own coaſts.

The States General of the Seven United Provinces, were fully ſenſible of all theſe calamities; but they prudently buried them in ſilence, and adverted only to the neceſſity of reviving the courage of the public, and preventing any popular deſpondency. The valour of thoſe officers and men who had fought in the late action was extolled in the warmeſt terms; honours and rewards were decreed to them in the moſt ample and generous manner, and nothing was forgotten to impreſs the world with the higheſt ſenſe of their merit, and to excite a ſpirit of emulation throughout the people.

The glory and ſucceſs of this engagement were duly acknowledged in England: but heavy complaints were made that a ſufficient force had not been aſſigned to Admiral Parker for the purpoſes that might have been accompliſhed on this occaſion. Had his ſquadron been properly reinforced, which it was aſſerted might have been done, no doubt was entertained, from his known bravery and abilities, that a total deſtruction, or capture of the Dutch ſquadron and convoy, would have been the conſequence.

On the return of the Britiſh ſquadron to the Nore, the ſervice done to the public by the Admiral, was noticed in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner. The king honoured him with a viſit, and treated him with thoſe marks of attention and regard to which he was ſo eminently intitled.

During the remainder of the year, the ports of Holland were completely blocked up, and their trade intercepted from the moſt beneficial quarters. The Dutch who had not for a century experienced any of the diſtreſſes ariſing from a naval war, now felt them to a great extent. The commonalty, upon which of courſe they chiefly fell, was loud and ungovernable in its murmurs; and it was for ſome

time imagined, that the hardſhips under which it laboured, would have produced internal commotions of a dangerons nature. Certain it is, that no little alarm was excited, and that the diſcontents were ſo general, that ſuſpicions of that kind did not appear intirely void of foundation.

CHAP. LX.

The French defeated at Jersey.—Siege of Minorca.—Naval Operations in the Channel.

1781.

NEVER had the intrigues of France been so successful against Great Britain as in the present war. She had contrived to kindle an unextinguishable flame in the British colonies. She had persuaded Spain, against the clear interest of that monarchy, to unite with her in asserting their independence. She had involved the seven United Provinces in a quarrel with their ancient and surest ally. She had drawn all Europe into a confederacy for the destruction of the naval power of this country, and had deprived it of all its allies, and almost of all its well-wishers.

In the midst of this storm, Britain seemed, however, to brave its enemies, not only by the greatness of the spirit with which she encountered them, but no less by the prodigious multiplicity of her resources. In the beginning of the year Eighty-one, the maritime strength of all Europe was drawn out against her; but the list of her fleets and armies afforded them no reason to hope that her power was on the decline. Her internal defence was provided for in such a manner, as precluded all expectations of making the least impression upon this island. She had numerous forces in the East and West Indies, and was making the most vigorous efforts in America. Her navy was on the most formidable footing, consisting of no less than four hundred and thirty vessels, in most excellent condition, and manned with the best and bravest seamen

in Europe, even by the confeſſion of her very enemies.

The fleets of France, Spain and Holland did hardly more than equal thoſe of Great Britain in number, but were far inferior to them in goodneſs of conſtruction. The ſailors, thoſe of Holland excepted, were chiefly compoſed of landſmen, unuſed to, and averſe to that element on which they were compelled to ſerve. France, with all its exertions, did not reckon more than two hundred and ſixty-four veſſels of all rates; and Spain not upwards of one hundred and twenty-four; Holland counted but ſixty.

The reſidue of European marine in actual commiſſion among thoſe powers who formed the armed neutrality, amounted to no more than eighty ſhips of all ſizes. Of thoſe, twenty-nine belonged to Ruſſia, thirty to Sweden, and twenty-five to Denmark. Such were the eſtimates of the naval force of the maritime powers in Europe, about the commencement of the year eighty-one.

France in the mean time was meditating how to avail herſelf of the advantages accruing from the potent confederacy in her favour. She had hitherto been foiled in every enterprize of moment. Saving ſome inconſiderable ſucceſſes in the Weſt Indies, her arms had been worſted every where. Notwithſtanding the parade with which her fleets, in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, had appeared on the Britiſh coaſt, nothing of the leaſt conſequence had hitherto been effected. The only attempt ſhe had ventured to make in the channel, was on the iſland of Jerſey, lying in ſight of her own ſhore; and in that ſhe had completely failed.

The remembrance of this failure, and the diſgrace of having manifeſted to the world her inability to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of an iſle ſituated at her very doors, induced her at the opening of this year, to repeat an attempt, which Europe teſtifi-

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ed its utmoſt ſurprize, that France ſhould ever have diſcontinued till ſhe had ſucceeded.

The perſon pitched upon to conduct this enterprize, was the Baron de Rullecourt, a man of courage, but of a fierce and violent diſpoſition. He had been ſecond in command upon the preceding attempt. The force entruſted to him conſiſted of two thouſand choſen men. With thoſe he embarked in very tempeſtuous weather, hoping, from this circumſtance, that as an invaſion would not be expected, he might be able to ſurprize the garriſon.

Many of his tranſports being diſperſed by the ſtorm, he was obliged to ſeek ſhelter with the remainder among ſome iſlands, in the proximity of Jerſey. As ſoon as the weather grew calmer, he ſeized the opportunity of a dark night, to effect a landing at a place called Grouville, where he made priſoners a party of militia. From hence he proceeded with the utmoſt diligence to St. Helier's, the capital of the iſland, about three miles diſtant: he came upon it ſo unexpectedly, that he ſeized on a body of men that guarded it, together with the commanding officer and the magiſtrates of the iſland.

He then drew up a capitulation, the terms of which were, that the iſland ſhould be forthwith ſurrendered to France, and the garriſon be ſent to England. He required inſtant compliance, threatening, upon refuſal, immediate deſtruction to the town. The Deputy Governor and Magiſtrates repreſented to him, that being in his power, no authority of theirs could any longer be valid, and that the troops could of courſe refuſe obedience to them. But the French commander perſiſting in his requiſition, and menaces, the capitulation was ſigned, in order to prevent him from carrying them into execution.

Having gained this point, Baron Rullecourt advanced to Elizabeth caſtle, near the town, which he ſummoned to ſurrender in virtue of the capitulation

lation signed by the Deputy Governor, whom he compelled to accompany him; but the garrison returned him a peremptory refusal, and made so vigorous a discharge of their artillery upon him that he was obliged to withdraw into the town.

The British troops stationed in the island, on being apprized of what was passing, assembled in the mean while from every quarter, under the command of Major Pierson; who on being required by the French commander to submit, returned for answer, that if the French themselves did not lay down their arms within twenty minutes, he would attack them.

In consequence of this message, after making a very able disposition of his troops, he charged the enemy with so much impetuosity, that in less than half an hour they were totally routed, and driven from the houses they had occupied, into the market-place, where they endeavoured to make a stand.

Baron Rullecourt enraged at a resistance, which he had not expected, forgot the magnanimity for which the French officers are so justly renowned, so far as to force the captive Governor to attend him to the spot of action, declaring that he should partake of the same danger as himself: that gentleman was compelled to stand by his side during the conflict in the market-place: but it was quickly terminated; the French were soon broken on all sides, the Baron himself mortally wounded, and the next in command obliged to deliver up himself and his party prisoners of war, in order to avoid being cut to pieces.

The splendor of this success was greatly clouded by the death of that gallant young officer, to whose conduct it was chiefly owing. Major Pierson unhappily fell by one of the last discharges from the French. He was but in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His loss was deeply lamented not only by the troops and inhabitants of Jersey, but by the whole

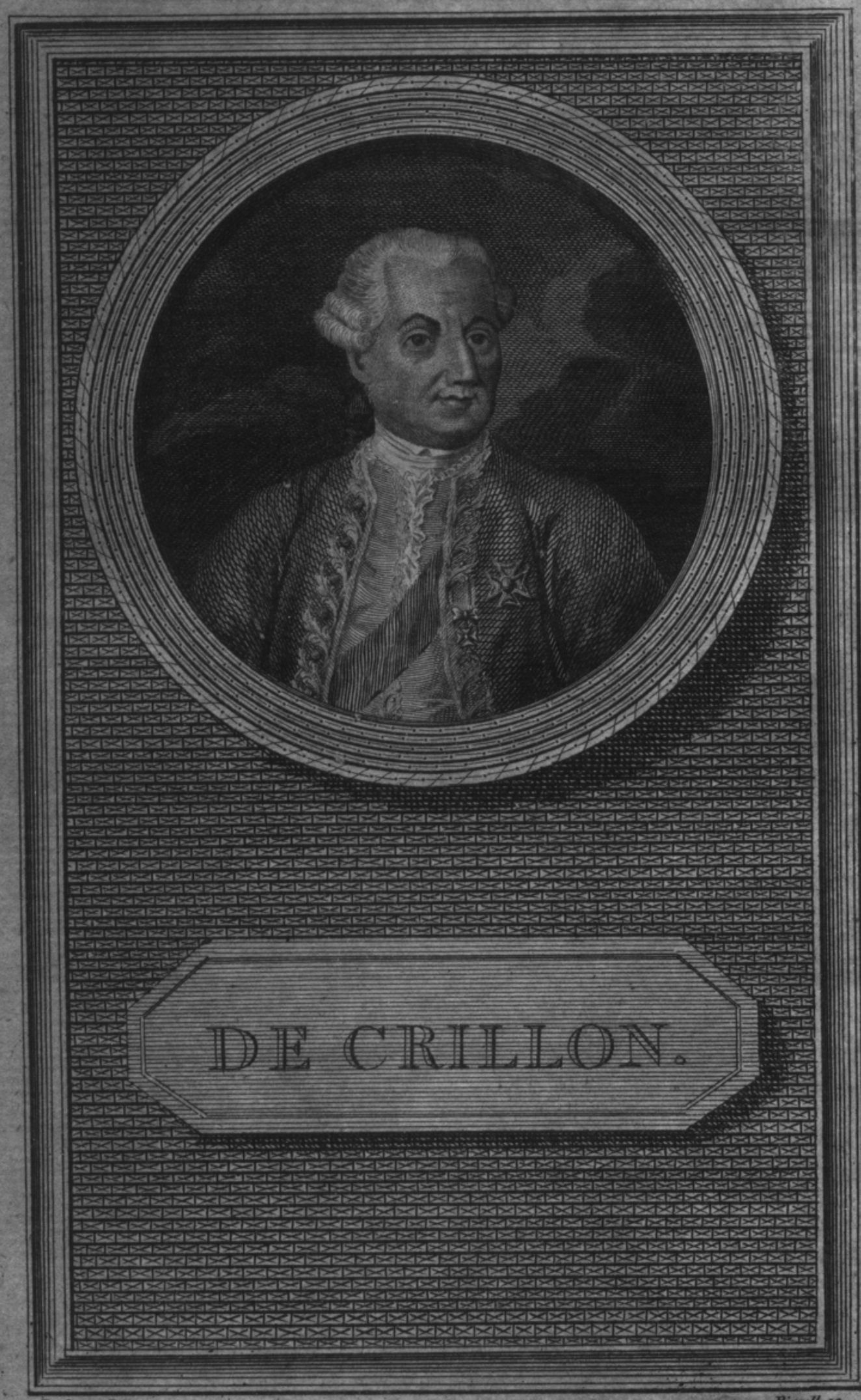
nation. The military abilities which he had displayed on this occaſion, juſtified the higheſt preſumptions of what he might have proved, had he been ſo fortunate as to ſurvive.

Of the whole force that landed upon the iſland, amounting to upwards of eight hundred men, not one eſcaped. They were all either killed or taken. What added greatly to the honour of the Britiſh troops, they were chiefly new levies, few of whom had ever been in action.

This ſecond defeat of the French at Jerſey, was no ſmall mortification to their miniſtry, which had long been earneſtly deſirous of maſtering that and the neighbouring iſland of Guernſey. It grieved them the more, as it proved, that notwithſtanding they both lay in the perpetual view of France, they were objects of defiance, much more than of acquiſition to that monarchy, and might be conſidered as an invincible argument of the real ſuperiority Great Britain preſerved in the Channel, in ſpite of the tranſitory parade of the French and Spaniſh fleets.

Another iſland, however, offered itſelf to their conſideration at this time, of more importance in itſelf, and of a more general utility to the furtherance of their deſigns. This was Minorca, of which the conqueſt was not only more practicable, on account of its remoteneſs from aſſiſtance, but would alſo ingratiate them with Spain, and contribute to remove the diſcontents with which that kingdom had been filled againſt France, for having drawn it into a conteſt that had proved hitherto ſo expenſive and ruinous.

The formation of this enterprize took place early in the year, but was for ſome time retarded by the length of the preparations it required. They were not completed till towards the cloſe of June, when M. de Guichen ſailed from Breſt, at the head



DE CRILLON.

Le Grand del. Published Aug.t 20, 1785, by J. Fielding, Pater-noster Row. Birrell sc.

of a ſquadron conſiſting of the moſt formidable ſhips in the French navy: they were eighteen in number, five of which carried one hundred and ten guns. They were joined at Cadiz by thirty Spaniſh ſhips of the line, and a large number of tranſports, carrying a body of ten thouſand regular troops.

Great Britain had now ſo many objects to employ her attention, and they were all of ſuch moment, that a ſufficient ſtrength could not be collected in time to prevent the junction and intended movements of the French and Spaniards, at the period and diſtance at which they were made.—They left Cadiz about the end of July, and landed their forces at Minorca the twentieth of Auguſt. Here they were ſhortly after joined by about ſix thouſand French from Toulon. The combined army of both Crowns was under the command of the Duke of Crillon, a French General of great reputation.

It was the fate of Minorca, at this juncture, to be totally unable to make any effectual reſiſtance againſt ſo powerful an enemy. The garriſon conſiſted only of four regiments, two of them Britiſh, and two Hanoverians: they were excellent troops, and commanded by two Generals of the higheſt abilities and bravery, General Murray, and Sir William Draper, both of whom had in happier times remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves, the firſt in North America, the ſecond in the Eaſt Indies.—But the ſoldiers were ſickly, and from that reaſon, as well as the ſmallneſs of their number, inadequate to the defence that would be neceſſary againſt ſuch a multitude of aſſailants. From theſe cauſes, much more than from the vigour and efforts of the beſiegers, it was ſoon foreſeen, that the preſervation of Minorca would prove a very difficult, if not an impracticable undertaking: eſpecially when the ob-

obſtructions in the way of all ſuccour were taken into conſideration.

While the troops of France and Spain were laying ſiege to Minorca, by the taking of which they propoſed to give a final blow to the Britiſh power in the Meditertanean, it was determined, in order to diſplay the ſtrength of the Houſe of Bourbon, that their fleets ſhould at the very ſame time attack thoſe of Great Britain on her own coaſt. To this purpoſe, the combined ſquadrons having been reinforced on their way, entered the channel about the middle of Auguſt, to the number of more than ſeventy ſail, about fifty of which were of the line.

Their intent was to intercept the great commercial fleets expected home at this ſeaſon of the year, and to prevent the ſailing of thoſe that were bound to the Britiſh ſettlements abroad. As their multitude enabled them to ſtretch acroſs the entrance of the Channel, it was reſolved in England, notwithſtanding their vaſt ſuperiority, that the naval force then in readineſs, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of the line, ſhould proceed immediately to ſea, and encounter all dangers for the protection of the home-bound fleets.

Admiral Darby, who commanded the Britiſh fleet, prepared accordingly for the execution of his orders; and the utmoſt alacrity and determination to ſecond him, was manifeſted by his officers and men: but he was detained by contrary winds in Torbay till the middle of September; during which time the enemy remained in poſſeſſion of the ſea adjacent to the Weſt of England, and the South of Ireland; and occaſioned no little alarm for the ſecurity of the trade returning from Jamaica and the Leeward iſlands.

The wind ſtill confining the Britiſh fleet in Torbay, the French and Spaniſh Admirals, on infor-

ety of attacking it in that poſition. Don Vincent Doz, one of the Spaniſh commanders, inſiſted with great ſtrenuouſneſs on the diſgrace that would attend the neglect of ſuch an opportunity of attacking the Engliſh, with ſo ſuperior a ſtrength as that which could now be brought to act againſt them.—He offered to be foremoſt in the attempt.

The propoſal of this ſpirited officer was highly applauded by the chief commander of the French, M. de Guichen. He looked upon the preſent occaſion as the moſt auſpicious that could be found. The principal part of the Britiſh navy was now blocked up in a bay, from whence there was no outlet, and where, if defeated, every ſhip muſt be taken or deſtroyed. It was highly probable, conſidering the vaſt ſuperiority of the combined fleets, that of Great Britain would be worſted. Such an event would at once terminate the war, to the utmoſt honour and advantage of the Houſe of Bourbon and its allies. But were they, on the contrary, to decline an engagement, all Europe would brand them with timidity, and interpret their conduct as a tacit acknowledgment of the ſuperior ſkill and courage of the Engliſh.

Theſe arguments were ſtrongly oppoſed, on the other hand, by M. de Beauſſet, the ſecond in command to M. de Guichen. He contended that the ſituation of the Britiſh fleet would enable it to fight them at their great diſadvantage: they could not attack it in a body, but muſt form their line a-head, and fall down ſingly upon the enemy.—This would expoſe every ſhip to the collected fire of the whole Britiſh fleet, lying faſt at anchor, and drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to point all its guns at any object within its reach. He touched alſo on the bad condition of the combined fleets, the weak ſtate of moſt of the ſhips, the Spaniſh eſpe-

cially, the number of ſick, and ſeveral other diſadvantages.

The reaſons he laid before the French and Spaniſh commanding officers appeared ſo well-founded, that it was determined to abandon the deſign of attacking the Britiſh fleet in Torbay, and to turn their attention to the eaſier taſk of way-laying that which was coming from the Weſt Indies. As it conſiſted of merchantmen, the taking of it would be attended with facility, and the loſs to England would prove immenſe.

With theſe intentions, the combined fleets bore away from the Channel, and ſtationed themſelves in the track through which the Weſt India trade was expected; but the weather became ſhortly ſo tempeſtuous, that they were obliged to relinquiſh this deſign, and make the beſt of their way to their reſpective ports.

In this manner ended their ſummer cruize in the Britiſh ſeas this year, as it had done the preceding. Notwithſtanding the motives they alledged for this retreat, the majority of people in Europe attributed it to their averſeneſs to riſk a deciſive engagement with the Britiſh fleet. The opinion became general, that either their ſhips were defectively conſtructed, or ill found in proper requiſites, if not both; and that they were, at the ſame time, manned with people in whom their commanders durſt not place much confidence.

In the mean time, the Britiſh mercantile fleets arrived ſafe from every quarter, to the great mortification of both France and Spain. As their finances began to totter more than ever, they had exerted themſelves to cut off thoſe reſources for the proſecution of the war ariſing through the prodigious importations of wealth from the tranſmarine poſſeſſions of Great Britain. It was not, therefore, without deep-felt concern, the French miniſtry beheld

its efforts to this eſſential purpoſe ſo completely, and ſo reiteratedly fruſtrated by an enemy, whoſe humiliation they were conſcious would never be accompliſhed by any other means.

In order to balance the failure of this deſign, it was reſolved to give the fulleſt ſupport to thoſe that were proſecuting elſewhere. Large reinforcements of troops, and great quantities of proviſions, naval and military ſtores, were with all diligence prepared for the various parts of the world where the war was waging. The convoy was ſo numerous, and of ſuch value and importance, that M. de Guichen was commiſſioned to accompany it till out of danger of being intercepted, with twenty of the largeſt ſhips of the line that could be provided.—Five of them mounted one hundred and ten guns.

Theſe preparations did not however eſcape the vigilance of the Britiſh miniſtry. A ſtrong ſquadron was diſpatched under Admiral Kempenfelt, to cut off this convoy, of which the arrival at the different places of its deſtination, would have proved highly injurious to the Britiſh intereſt in thoſe parts. He fell in with it on the twelfth of December, eighty-one. Happily for him, the tranſports had been parted from the men of war by a violent ſtorm. This enabled him to capture above twenty of them: the want of frigates prevented the taking of many more.

Moſt of the remaining part of the convoy was in conſequence diſperſed, and obliged to put back,.—But Admiral Kempenfelt, on reconnoitring the force of the enemy, found it ſo ſuperior to his own, that it would have been the height of imprudence to have ventured an engagement. As he had but twelve ſhips of the line, he declined the conteſt, and withdrew into port.

The value of the prizes he had taken was very conſiderable: they were laden with all kind of ar-

ticles requiſite for land and ſea-ſervice, and with all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries. Near two thouſand ſoldiers and ſailors were made priſoners.

But notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the diſappointment to France by the loſs of ſo material a proportion of this convoy, the facility with which, as it was aſſerted, the whole might have been captured, and the heavy blow that would thereby have been given to the enemy, revived the clamours that had been raiſed on occaſion of the fight between Admiral Parker and the Dutch. The ſame neglect, it was complained, had again prevented the completeſt ſucceſs from being obtained. Had a ſufficient ſtrength been employed, a victory of the moſt deciſive conſequence might have been gained; and inſtead of part of the convoy, the whole would probably have been taken, together with the fleet by which it was accompanied.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

Military Operations in Carolina, under Lord Rawdon.

1781.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the various parts of the world that were become the ſcenes of this extenſive war, it was drawing to a criſis in that country where it firſt broke out, and had hitherto been carried on with ſo much obſtinacy, and yet with ſo little tendency to a deciſion.

The obligation under which Lord Cornwallis found himſelf to retire to Wilmington, after the victory he had obtained at Guildford over General Greene, was an alarming evidence of the inſurmountable difficulties of his ſituation. It emboldened the American General to direct his operations to thoſe parts of South Carolina of which the Britiſh troops had taken poſſeſſion; not doubting but he ſhould be able, by haraſſing them, and cutting off their ſupplies and communication with their principal poſts, to compel them to abandon thoſe they occupied in the upper countries, and to withdraw for ſafety to their garriſons on the ſea-coaſt.

Lord Cornwallis, on ſetting out in queſt of the Americans, previous to the action at Guildford, had left Lord Rawdon at the head of the Britiſh forces in the interior part of South Carolina. On the retreat of the Britiſh army to Wilmington, General Greene being reinforced, and having refreſhed his troops, and collected the people that had been diſperſed in that engagement, reſolved to march towards Camden, where Lord Rawdon was

then poſted. Another body of Americans advanced from another quarter, to make a diverſion, and induce him to divide his force.

But it was too ſmall to ſuffer a diviſion. He thought it moſt prudent to collect into one body the whole of it, and to make a ſtand on the ſpot he occupied againſt General Greene, whatever his ſtrength might be. His ſituation was, however, extremely precarious. His proviſions were ſo much reduced, that he was compelled to decline the aſſiſtance of a body of Loyaliſts, that offered their ſervices on this occaſion, from abſolute inability to maintain them.

On the arrival of General Greene, he was further obliged to contract his poſts, and to keep on the defenſive. The detachments he had recalled could not join him, a ſtrong body of Americans having taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes that led to Camden, and a powerful addition being daily expected to the American army.

In this dangerous ſituatiou, Lord Rawdon took the reſolution to attack the American General, before his reinforcements were arrived. The latter, confiding in his ſuperiority, had already taken the like determination, and had detached a part of his force to eſcort a train of artillery to his camp.

Lord Rawdon being apprized of this movement, ſeized that opportunity to aſſail him. His whole ſtrength amounted to no more than a thouſand men. The Americans were encamped at two miles diſtance, on the brow of a rocky ſteep, known by the name of Hobkirk Hill: they were guarded on the left by a deep ſwamp: it was on this ſide the attack was intended, as it was imagined they would be leſs on their guard, from the difficulty of approaching them.

At ten in the morning of the twenty-fifth of April, the Britiſh troops marched to the enemy

round this ſwamp undiſcovered, and entered a wood bordering upon the enemy's left wing. From hence they ruſhed upon it with ſo much ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity, that it was inſtantly thrown into diſorder, and driven to the main body. But the great ſuperiority of number enabled the Americans to rally, and to make a very reſolute ſtand: their artillery arriving at this moment, did alſo great execution, and the fight continued doubtful during ſome time.

The front of the Americans proving very incommodious from its extent, Lord Rawdon, in order to prevent them from ſurrounding him, was obliged to bring all his troops into one line. Notwithſtanding its thinneſs, they charged the enemy with ſuch fury, that they were at length broken and put to flight. They were not purſued, however, farther than three miles, as Lord Rawdon had but a ſmall body of horſe, and his infantry was too much fatigued to continue the purſuit with ſafety againſt ſuch very ſuperior numbers.

The Americans withdrew beyond a creek twelve miles diſtant from the field of battle. Here they poſted themſelves on a ſtrong ground, in apprehenſion of a ſecond attack. Their loſs was very conſiderable, when the ſmall number that engaged them is conſidered. It amounted, in killed and taken, to no leſs than ſix hundred; a proportion that exceeded half the victorious army.

The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh troops was about two hundred and fifty ſlain and wounded: but the impoſſibility of ſupplying the place of thoſe that fell, or were diſabled, rendered it very heavy. Lord Rawdon had been obliged, in order to encounter the enemy, to arm the very drummers, and all the attendants on the army. He had now hardly eight hundred men left, while the enemy was hourly receiving additional ſtrength.

This victory, though ſo complete in itſelf, was of no real ſervice to the Britiſh cauſe. Like that of Guilford, it proved the courage and abilities of the victors, but produced no benefits to them. It ſeemed, on the contrary, to have accelerated the deſign that had been ſome time in agitation in thoſe parts of Carolina that were awed into ſubmiſſion by the Britiſh arms: they all at once ſhook off their obedience, and openly declared againſt Britain.

Lord Rawdon now ſaw himſelf inveſted on every ſide. General Greene, with an increaſing force, was poſted in his front, and ſtrong parties of the enemy lay in his rear. In theſe circumſtances, he judged it more adviſable to wait the relief that was promiſed him, than to expoſe his ſmall army, if it could deſerve ſuch a name, to the hazard of being put between two fires, by quitting the poſt he occupied.

The aſſiſtance he expected conſiſted of little more than five hundred men, headed by Colonel Watſon. This officer, in order to join Lord Rawdon, was obliged to undertake a long and laborious march through a country full of rivers and ſwamps, which he found the greateſt difficulty to croſs. After coaſting the great river Santee almoſt to its mouth, he paſſed it, and reſumed his march towards its confluence with the Congaree, where he croſſed it once more, before he could effect his junction with Lord Rawdon. The hardſhips and obſtructions ſurmounted in this march did ſingular honour to Colonel Watſon.

The arrival of this reinforcement enabled Lord Rawdon to undertake the retreat that was now become neceſſary from Camden, where he was poſted in the midſt of enemies, without the leaſt expectation of receiving any further ſuccours. Before he proceeded on this deſign, he reſolved, however, to employ the ſtrength he now poſſeſſed in a

freſh attempt upon General Greene. But this wary officer, on receiving notice of Colonel Watſon's arrival, withdrew from his poſt, well conjecturing that it would be attacked; and took another of ſo much ſtrength, that it was deemed, upon inſpection, too difficult to be attempted.

On the ninth of May, eighty-one, the Britiſh troops left Camden, bringing off with them their proviſions, and the ſtores of moſt value, and deſtroying the reſidue. They proceeded leiſurely on their march, in order to give time to ſuch of their adherents as choſe to accompany them, to carry off their effects and moveable property. The enemy endeavoured to haraſs them, but were quickly repulſed.

The intention of Lord Rawdon was, while making this retreat, to relieve ſuch poſts as were attacked by the enemy. The principal of them was called Motte's Houſe, which was cloſely beſieged by the Americans, and vigorouſly defended by Captain Macpherſon. Its ſituation rendered it of much importance; but he had the mortification to find that it had fallen into the hands of the enemy, with ſeveral others in the neighbourhood.

The troops under Lord Rawdon croſſed the Santee at Nelſon's Ferry, on the thirteenth of May. In this poſition he covered the country adjacent to Charleſtown, and could wait in ſafety for reinforcements. Here he was joined by a conſiderable detachment, which induced him to make a movement forward into the upper country, where the enemy was now expected to renew his operations; but he was ſoon obliged to ſuſpend his deſign for the preſent, and to retire nearer to Charleſtown, upon receiving intelligence that General Greene was coming down upon him in great force.

The defection throughout this province was now become ſo general, that little or no confidence could

be placed any where. The capital was full of diſaffected, who ſeemed evidently to wait with impatience for an opportunity of throwing off the maſk, and openly joining with the enemy.

While the Britiſh affairs were in this critical poſture, General Greene reſolved to attack the poſt at Ninety-ſix. Its diſtance, and the difficulty of relieving it were ſuch, that the Americans entertained no doubt of maſtering it, was no other method uſed but to cut off its ſupplies.

Lord Rawdon concurring in the ſame idea, and convinced of the preſent impracticability of ſuccouring that place, ſent word to the commanding officer to abandon it, and to retire to Auguſta, which was the neareſt poſt he could with ſafety remove to, while the enemy occupied all the interjacent country between Ninety-ſix and the Britiſh army.

But the Americans guarded all the roads and paſſes with ſo much vigilance, and the inhabitants were ſo inveterate in their diſaffection, that no meſſages could reach that garriſon. It was however under the command of a very brave and able officer, Colonel Cruger; and the defence was ſo reſolute, that the enemy ſoon began to apprehend that want of proviſions alone would compel it to ſurrender.

In the mean time a body of troops arrived at Charleſtown from Ireland, conſiſting of three complete regiments. The dangerous ſituation of the province was a ſufficient motive with Lord Cornwallis, to whoſe orders they were aſſigned, to put them under the command of Lord Rawdon,

He now ſet forward from Charleſtown, at the head of about three thouſand men, intending to direct his motions in ſuch wiſe, as to force the American General to an engagement. His march, on this account, was circutious, in order to prevent the enemy's retreat, and at the ſame time to oppoſe any reinforcements that might be on their way

from NorthCarolina and Virginia, the two provinces on the aſſiſtance of which the American General principally relied.

Upon information of Lord Rawdon's approach, General Greene took immediately the determination to hazard an aſſault upon the fort at Ninety-ſix. No other means were left to carry it, as the daily expectation of the Britiſh army's arrival, afforded no more time for the continuation of a regular ſiege.

The aſſault was made accordingly on the nineteenth of June, before the break of day. It was conducted with great intrepidity on the part of the Americans; but they met with ſo undaunted a reſiſtance, that after a long and ſevere conflict, they were entirely repulſed, with a conſiderable loſs.—Some of their beſt officers and ſoldiers fell in this attempt.

Lord Rawdon arriving the next day, found the American army had left its encampment, and retired to a ſtrong ground beyond Buſh River, at ſixteen miles diſtance. The great fatigue undergone by the Britiſh troops in the long and expeditious march they had taken to come up with the enemy, did not prevent them from ſetting out in purſuit of him that very evening. For the greater celerity, they threw off every incumbrance: but notwithſtanding their ſpeed, the Americans had previouſly gained ſo much way, that it was impoſſible to overtake them, ſo rapid and continual was their flight.

Notwithſtanding the retreat of the enemy, the hoſtile diſpoſition of the country in the neighbourhood of Ninety-ſix, rendered it neceſſary to relinquiſh that poſt. The few Loyaliſts in thoſe parts were taken under the protection of the army, as at Camden, and removed with it to the country more adjacent to Charleſtown, where they were promiſed lands and ſettlements in the diſtricts ve-

cated by the enemy, equivalent in value to thoſe they were now obliged to abandon.

While theſe arrangements were taking place, Lord Rawdon ſelected about one thouſand of his beſt troops, with which he determined to go immediately in queſt of the flying enemy. Another body of troops was directed to meet him at an appointed time and place; but while it was on its march for this purpoſe, the alarm that was ſpread of the ſpeedy arrival of a French ſquadron, with a number of troops, raiſed ſo much apprehenſion at Charleſtown, that it was recalled for the protection of this capital.

Lord Rawdon, who had been informed of the march of this detachment to his aſſiſtance by the officer who commanded it, was advancing with the utmoſt ſpeed to the place of appointment. Advice was ſent him of its recal, but the letter that was addreſſed to him to this purport, was intercepted by General Greene; who being apprized at the ſame time of the ſmall force with which he had moved from Ninety-ſix, reſolved to way-lay and ſurround him, before he could be warned of his danger.

Happily for Lord Rawdon, the recal of the detachment was countermanded; and his motions were ſo expeditious, that he reached the ſpot where he expected to meet it two days before it was to arrive. This circumſtance enabled him to diſcover that the enemy was approaching in great force. Part of his cavalry, however, venturing out too far, in expectation of meeting the promiſed ſuccour, were circumvented by a large body of American horſe and foot, and made priſoners.

This was the heavier a loſs to Lord Rawdon, as it conſiſted of the major part of his cavalry, upon which he chiefly depended for the procuring of in-

formation in a country, where, from the malevolent diſpoſition of the people, he could truſt to nothing but ocular evidence. He now found himſelf totally diſappointed in the object of his expedition. But as it was indiſpenſibly requiſite to join the troops that were coming to his aſſiſtance, in order to prevent them from being overpowered by the enemy, he proceeded with all diligence towards Orangeburgh, where he conjectured they were now arrived.

But in his march to this place he had various impediments to conquer.—Colonel Lee, an American officer of great activity, lay on the oppoſite banks of Congaree Creek, with a ſtrong corps of cavalry and markſmen. The fords were difficult, and purpoſely embaraſſed with fallen trees, and the places of landing on the other ſide were ſteep and rocky. The enemy had broken down the bridge, and kept a guard wherever there was a poſſibility of croſſing.

The only method left to effect one was by ſurpriſe. To this intent, in the middle of the day, while the intenſeneſs of the heat ſeemed to ſuſpend all military operations, the Britiſh troops ſuddenly advanced to the river. A choſen party waded over with great quickneſs, and attacked the enemy with ſo much courage and impetuoſity, that they were totally diſperſed, and a paſſage cleared for thoſe that followed.

Arriving at Orangeburgh, Lord Rawdon was joined, according to his expectation, by a complete regiment, under the command of Colonel Stuart. General Greene, on the other hand, hoping to overtake him before this junction was effected, had uſed the utmoſt ſpeed in following him over the Congaree Creek, and was now within a few miles, at the head of a very conſiderable force,

compoſed of ſtrong reinforcements of American regulars, and a large body of horſe.

But having examined the ſituation and countenance of the Britiſh troops, he ſoon altered the intention he had formed of attacking them; and, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority, did not think it adviſable to riſk an engagement with ſo well diſciplined a force as he now ſaw collected to face him: he decamped in the night of the tenth of July, and repaſſed the Congaree with ſo much precipitation, that he was quite out of reach when Lord Rawdon was made acquainted with the route he had taken.

The exceſſive heat of the ſubſequent weather, put an end to the campaign in Carolina for the preſent. Satisfied with having effected a retreat, General Greene, after taking a ſecure poſition on the high-lands eaſt of the river Santee, diſpoſed the remainder of his forces in ſuch a manner, as to form a chain of communication between them, to the intent of checking any attempt on the part of the Britiſh troops. Theſe, notwithſtanding their ſucceſſes in the field, were circumſcribed within much narrower limits than at the commencement of the campaign. Auguſta, in Georgia, had been retaken, and moſt of that province recovered by the Americans: they were alſo maſters of the upper Carolinas, while the former were confined to the diſtricts bordering on the ſea.

Such was the iſſue of the victories and ſurpriſing exertions made by the Britiſh commanders, and their officers and people, during the ſevere courſe of ſervice they underwent this memorable year in the Southern Colonies. The hardſhips they endured were ſuch as experience only could have proved that human nature was capable of ſupporting. The extremes of fatigue, hunger, and

thirſt, were through continual repetitions become habitual to them, and they were in a manner familiariſed with all the wants and miſeries incident to hoſtilities of the moſt deſtructive and ruinous nature. In many of their expeditions, their very ſubſiſtence was caſual, and chiefly depended upon the accidental diſcovery of ſcanty ſupplies of food. It was only by dint of ſearching, they were able to find them among a people, who, from their inveteracy, induſtriouſly ſought to deprive them of every means of ſuſtenance, and carefully concealed all the proviſions they had to ſpare, for the uſe of their adverſaries.

But it was preciſely from the very greatneſs of theſe exertions, that thinking people drew the moſt alarming preſages with regard to the cauſe for which they were diſplayed. Their inutility, or rather their fatal conſequences, became daily more viſible, in the loſs of thoſe numbers of brave men who fell in the field, or became the victims of an inauſpicious climate, where as many periſhed through its baneful influence, as by the chances of war.

It was equally a matter of aſtoniſhment and mortification to miniſtry, that ſuch ſpirit and ſufferings ſhould produce no effect in forwarding the main object in contemplation. The enemy ſtill continued unſubdued and undiſmayed. His perſeverance was equal to every trial, and his reſolution ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the endeavours that were made to overcome it. Loſſes and defeats, inſtead of deſpondency and dread, excited his reſentment and obſtinacy: every advantage obtained over him demanded freſh ſucceſſes to ſupport and confirm it, and occaſioned, on his part, additional efforts to fruſtrate it.

A conteſt of ſuch a deſcription could not fail being attended with uncommon and unforeſeen

difficulties. The character of the people, and the nature of the country, ſeemed equally ſtubborn and unconquerable, and calculated to contribute reciprocally to their joint defence. Againſt ſuch an enemy, the valour and reſources that would elſewhere have proved irreſiſtible, were neceſſarily precarious; as their effects here depended upon cauſes of a peculiar and and local caſt, and operating in a manner, which, as it was unuſual and new, could hardly at ſo vaſt a diſtance, have been either foreſeen or prevented.

CHAP. LXII.

Campaign of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia.—Engagement between the Britiſh and French fleets off that Coaſt.—Capitulation at York Town.

1781.

DURING the operations of the forces under Lord Rawdon in Carolina, Lord Cornwallis had for a time been compelled to remain at Wilmington, through the want of due requiſites to put in motion the troops under his command. They were deſtitute of almoſt every neceſſary; yet, notwithſtanding their wretched condition, and the remembrance of what they had lately ſuffered, they chearfully acquieſced in the reſolution he took of ſetting out for Virginia; though they well knew the impediments in their way, the length of the march, and the numberleſs hardſhips with which they muſt contend.

After having maturely reflected on the ſituation of affairs, Lord Cornwallis found this determination the moſt adviſable one he could now reſolve upon. His force was at this time ſo reduced, that he had not fifteen hundred men complete. He could not, with ſuch a handful, venture back acroſs the Carolinas to the aſſiſtance of Lord Rawdon, between whom and him the Americans were poſted in great force, and occupied all the paſſes and fords of the many rivers throughout that vaſt tract of country. The very length of the journey, and the perpetual conflicts he muſt go through, would at the ſame time ſo harraſs and conſume the ſmall force he had, that it would be waſted to nothing, before he could join Lord Rawdon; were this practicable in the face

For theſe reaſons, he formed the reſolution of penetrating through North Carolina, and the South of Virginia, to the Britiſh army that was at this time employed in the reduction of that province, under the Generals Philips and Arnold, whoſe ſucceſſes in thoſe parts had been very great, and ſeemed to open a proſpect of ſtill greater.

As they were accompanied by a multitude of veſſels, they were enabled to navigate through a vaſt extent of inland country, by means of the great rivers with which that province is every where interſected. At Peterſburgh, on the river Appomatox, they deſtroyed a prodigious quantity of tobacco, that had been collected at that town for exportation: it amounted to no leſs than four thouſand hogſheads. The damage was immenſe, not only to the province, but to the whole confederacy, from the deficiency that would be occaſioned to the public revenue, through the loſs of ſo conſiderable a remittance.

But this was only a part of the vaſt loſſes the Americans ſuſtained in this quarter. The deſtruction of ſhipping, and naval ſtores of every denomination, of dock-yards and other conſtructions of that kind, of public building, ſtores and warehouſes, and of proviſions of every ſort, was at that time irreparable; and proved a moſt ſerious and eſſential detriment to the whole continent.

At a place called Oſborn, General Arnold came up with ſome ſhips of force in the ſervice of Congreſs. After ſome reſiſtance, they were either burnt or taken, with ſeveral others richly laden. From this place the troops proceeded to Mancheſter, a ſmall town in the neighbourhood, where they ſet ſome conſiderable magazines on fire: they did the ſame at Warwick, a flouriſhing ſettlement, containing a number of warehouſes, with variety of merchandize, all which were ſeized or conſumed.

In order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Britiſh troops, General Waſhington detached the Marquis de la Fayette with what forces he could ſpare. But they were not ſufficient to impede the operations of General Arnold; and were conſtrained to remain ſpectators of his proceedings, without being able to interrupt them. The damage done to the Americans in theſe various expeditions, was prodigious. The amount alone of tobacco taken or deſtroyed, was computed at little leſs than ten thouſand hogſheads.

Theſe heavy and alarming loſſes obliged the Americans to make large detachments for the ſupport of the Marquis, who exerted himſelf with great vigour and ability to defeat the deſigns of the Britiſh commanders. He poſted himſelf at Richmond, on the ſide of James River oppoſite to that which was occupied by General Arnold; from whence he kept a vigilant eye on all his motions.

In the mean time Lord Cornwallis was on his march from Wilmington. He had in many places a wild and difficult country to make his way through, and no other reſources to depend on than the reſolution of his people and his own activity. In the midſt of a variety of obſtructions and trials of their patience and courage, they arrived at length in Virginia, and formed the long deſired junction with the Britiſh forces in thoſe parts.

The Marquis de la Fayette made his utmoſt efforts to prevent this junction. To this intent he advanced towards Peterſburgh, in hopes of ſeizing that poſt, which, from its ſituation, he hoped, would have enabled him to make good its poſſeſſion againſt a greater ſtrength, till he was reinforced. But General Philips, though in a declining ſtate of health, uſed ſo much activity on diſcovering his intent, that he intirely fruſtrated it, and by a timely and rapid motion took poſſeſſion of Peterſburgh before

enemy could carry his design into execution. This was the last exploit of that brave and excellent officer, who died a few days after.

General Arnold, who succeeded him in the chief command, made all the arrangements that were necessary to facilitate the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. As he brought with him a chosen, though small body of men, no efforts were neglected to intercept them on their march; and it was no inconsiderable disappointment to the enemy, that they had not been able to succeed in this measure.

Lord Cornwallis was now at the head of an army, which, though not numerous, was extremely formidable, from the uncommon expertness and bravery of the officers and soldiers of which it consisted. He began his operations by crossing James River, and advancing towards the upper country. Colonels Tarleton and Simcoe were detached from the main body, in order to harass the enemy. They executed their commission with great spirit and success, destroying vast quantities of arms, ammunition, and provisions, and worsting the enemy in several skirmishes.

He then turned towards the sea-coast, and took possession of Williamsburgh; having in this expedition done immense damage to the enemy. Some thousand hogsheads of tobacco were seized or destroyed; and a great number of brass ordnance, both guns and mortar-pieces, brought away.

The American forces, under the Marquis de La Fayette, being reinforced by a strong detachment, commanded by General Wayne, Baron Steuben, and other able officers, drew nearer to the British army, which was now encamped near James-Town. On the sixth of July they attacked its out-posts with great vigour, and conceiving the main body itself to be at a distance, they ap-

proached in conſiderable force, in hope of completely cutting off that part which was near them.

But Lord Cornwallis, after waiting till they had brought up all the force they intended, turned ſuddenly upon them with the remainder of his army, diſpoſed in two lines. The left of the enemy, compoſed chiefly of militia, was quickly routed, and put to flight: but their right, conſiſting of the Pennſylvanian line, and other Continental regulars, made a very brave defence. They were, however, compelled to retire, with the loſs of their artillery, through the ſuperior conduct and bravery of Colonel Dundaſs, and thoſe troops under his command, that formed the Britiſh left. A great number of dead and wounded were left on the field; but as it was late in the afternoon when the action commenced, the evening was too far gone when it was over, to purſue them with any ſucceſs. The Britiſh officers made no doubt, that unleſs the darkneſs had interpoſed in their favour, the whole of the American forces muſt unavoidably have ſurrendered, or been deſtroyed.

The principal object of contemplation in the expedition now carrying on in Virginiâ, was to fix upon a place of ſtrength and ſecurity for the Britiſh troops and ſhipping, from whence to command that extenſive province, and cut off its commercial communication through the Cheſapeak. By this meaſure its trade and reſources, and, of conſequence, the principal ſupport of the war on the part of America, would in a conſiderable degree be taken away.

Various opinions were held concerning the propereſt ſtations; which rendered the choice of one a matter of no ſmall difficulty and heſitation. About the commencement of hoſtilities in Virginia, the harbour of Portſmouth, in the ſouthern part of that colony, had been tried, and found

able at that time for the purpoſe of affording a convenient poſt both for naval and military operations. It commanded the Cheſapeak, from whence incurſions might be made into every diſtrict of the province, up the many navigable rivers that fell into that ſpacious bay.

There were objections, however, to this poſt: it was unwholeſomely ſituated, would require a large force for its protection, and did not admit of ſhips of the line; without which, in the preſent circumſtances, it would be totally inſecure. In the default of Portſmouth, Point Comfort was next propoſed, in the vicinity of Hampton Road, where large veſſels would lie in ſafety, under ſuch works as might be erected to that intent; but upon examination, that ſpot appeared too much expoſed to the fire of a fleet.—After much deliberation, York Town, ſeated on the river of that name, was at laſt pitched upon, as the leaſt inconvenient poſt. Glouceſter Point lay on the northern ſide, at little more than a mile diſtance, the river running between them, being equally commanded by both, and of ſufficient depth for large veſſels.

But this poſition, though favourable in many reſpects, required no inconſiderable force to be properly maintained. That which was now under Lord Cornwallis, though conſiſting of no more than about ſeven thouſand men, was no ſmall proportion of what remained at this time in America.—Sir Henry Clinton, commander in chief of the Britiſh forces on the continent, was at this time in ſo dangerous a ſituation at New York, that inſtead of being able to ſend any further ſupplies of troops to Lord Cornwallis, he was under the neceſſity of requeſting him to ſpare a body of three thouſand men, for the defence of that city, which he expected would be ſhortly attacked by the combined

This requeſt could not, however, be complied with in the preſent juncture; as it appeared impracticable to Lord Cornwallis to retain his poſt, were he diveſted of ſo great a part of his ſtrength. He exerted himſelf to fortify and render it tenable; not doubting but the utmoſt efforts would be made to diſlodge him.

In the mean time, the ruling men among the Americans were anxiouſly employed in deviſing means to fruſtrate the vigorous proceedings that were intended againſt them. Their internal affairs were at this period in extreme diſorder, as appeared from a variety of intercepted letters, written by ſome of the principal perſonages among them, and which deſcribed their condition to be replete with all manner of difficulties. This knowledge of their diſtreſsful circumſtances, was no leſs diſparaging and hurtful to them, than encouraging to the Britiſh commanders in America, and to the miniſtry at home. Great hopes were hence entertained, that the time was approaching when theſe unceaſing hardſhips would create ſuch diſcontent and impatience, as might induce the Americans to put an end to their calamities, by liſtening to the favourable terms ſo repeatedly offered them.

But this diſcovery of their circumſtances, contrary to all expectation, produced a quite oppoſite effect. Relying on the aſſiſtance of France, and of the multitude of allies that ſupported its cauſe in all parts of the world, Congreſs was not in the leaſt dubious of the final iſſue of the war, and looked upon the preſent inconveniencies as no more than temporary evils, which could not fail of a quick termination, as ſoon as thoſe naval ſuccours arrived which had been ſolemnly promiſed them before the expiration of ſummer.

That period was now approaching, and the chief ſtudy of General Waſhington was how to co-ope-

rate moſt effectually with their French allies.—That method which ſeemed to be moſt likely to ſucceed, was by making ſuch a diverſion in their favour, as would keep the ſtrength and attention of the Britiſh commanders ſo much occupied elſewhere, as to give the former a complete opportunity of executing their deſigns without any effectual oppoſition.

In order to accompliſh this end the more readily, a project was formed to circumvent and deceive the Britiſh commanders into a perſuaſion that the intent of France and America was to finiſh the war by a deciſive blow at New York, the capture of which, together with the force it contained, muſt infallibly put an end to hoſtilities on that continent.

To carry on the deception, letters were framed by the American General, ſetting forth his total deſpair of expelling the Engliſh, but by attacking them ſucceſsfully at New York; and inſiſting peremptorily on the indiſpenſible neceſſity of both French and Americans combining all their forces for that purpoſe, as the ſole means of obtaining the end for which they had ſo long been contending.

He repreſented to the American commanders employed in different parts, but eſpecially to thoſe in Virginia, his abſolute inability to come to their aſſiſtance, and that the deliverance of that province from its Britiſh invaders, would entirely depend on the plan he had formed againſt New York, in conjunction with the French commanding officers, who concurred unanimouſly in approving it, were hearty in their promiſes to ſecond it with all their power, and extremely ſanguine in their expectations of its ſucceſs.

To impreſs theſe ideas the more ſtrongly, letters of the ſame tenour were addreſſed from the French commanders themſelves to the Reſident of France at Philadelphia. Theſe letters were *delivered to*

meſſengers, who were purpoſedly thrown into the way of being intercepted. They fell accordingly into the hands of thoſe for whom they were deſigned, and produced their deſired effect.

That the movements of the enemy might correſpond with the intentions expreſſed in theſe letters, Count de Rochambeau moved from Rhode Iſland with the French troops under his command, in the beginning of July, and formed a junction with General Waſhington on the Connecticut ſide of the North River. From hence they both advanced to the neighbourhood of New York. They continued in this poſition near ſix weeks; feigning, by their motions, to be preparing for an attack upon this city, reconnoitring its environs, and inſpecting all the works within the reach of their cannon.

The ſpeedy arrival of Count de Graſſe, at the head of a powerful fleet, was at the ſame time confidently reported; and a body of French troops took poſt on the ſhore facing Sandy Hook, with an apparent intent of co-operating with him.—Quarters were in conſequence prepared for the reſt of their countrymen, who were, it was ſaid, to act chiefly on that ſide. General Waſhington, on the other hand, poſted himſelf oppoſite to Staten Iſland.

Matters being at length completely arranged for the proſecution of the main deſign, the French and American Generals ſuddenly broke up their camps, and took their route through the Jerſeys.—They croſſed the Delaware at Trenton, and paſſed through Philadelphia on the third and fourth of September, on their way to the head of the river Elk, where their embarkation for Virginia was to take place.

In the mean time, a reſolution was taken at New York, to make ſuch a diverſion on the ſide of Connecticut, as ſhould induce General Waſhington to turn his attention to that and defeat the

ſcheme he ſeemed meditating againſt New York. The conduct of this expedition was committed to General Arnold. He embarked with a ſtrong detachment, and landed on the ſixth of September at New London, a place of great trade in that colony, ſituated on a river to which the name of Thames had been given by the original ſettlers in former days.

General Arnold made his landing on that ſide of the river where Fort Trumbull ſtood, which was maſtered without much difficulty. But Colonel Eyre, who landed on the other ſide of the river, met with a very reſolute oppoſition. He had been informed that Fort Griſwold, the attacking of which fell to his lot, was not in a proper ſtate of defence, and wanted a ſufficient garriſon: but he found it, on the contrary, well fortified and manned.—On viewing it more fully, General Arnold thought it too ſtrong to be carried by a ſudden aſſault, and therefore countermanded the orders he had before given to that intent. But the attack was already begun;—the troops advancing under a heavy fire, aſſaulted it on three ſides. They firſt made a lodgement in the ditch, and next on the fraizing; from whence, after ſilencing a heavy gun, that enfiladed them, they ruſhed with their bayonets fixed through the embraſures, which were defended with the moſt deſperate obſtinacy by the enemy, who had armed themſelves with long ſpears for that purpoſe.

The honour obtained by this remarkable action was very great, but it was dearly purchaſed. Two officers, and forty-ſix ſoldiers were killed on the ſpot, and eight officers, with one hundred and thirty-five ſoldiers wounded. Among thoſe who fell was Major Montgomery, who was pierced with a ſpear as he entered the fort. On the ſide of the garriſon, their commander, Colonel Ladyard, was ſlain, with eighty-five of his men; ſixty were

wounded.

wounded, moſt of them mortally, and about ſeventy were made priſoners.

Immenſe quantities of merchandiſe were deſtroyed upon this occaſion, with a great number of ſhipping, and military and naval ſtores. Unhappily for the town, a large quantity of gunpowder had been depoſited in the ſtorehouſes, which being ſet on fire, the flames communicated to the contiguous buildings, and a great part of the town was reduced to aſhes.

But this incurſion into Connecticut did not appear of ſufficient importance to the American commanders to occaſion any alteration in their plan.—It was by this time in a conſiderable ſtate of forwardneſs. The combined forces, under General Waſhington, and the Count de Rochambeau, had now reached the head of the Elk, where a part of them embarked, and the reſidue, for want of water carriage, proceeded by land towards the place of their deſtination.

In the mean time, a large French fleet was on its way from the Weſt Indies, under Count de Graſſe. It arrived off the Cheſapeak on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt. A Britiſh ſquadron, from the ſame quarter, had arrived there three days before, commanded by Admiral Sir Samuel Hood. Intelligence had been previouſly ſent to New York from Admiral Rodney, of his intentions to diſpatch this ſquadron to reinforce that under Admiral Graves: but this latter, for want of this information, which was delayed by contrary winds, had been cruiſing off Boſton, from whence he was driven by bad weather to New York, where ſome of his ſhips were repairing the damages they had received.

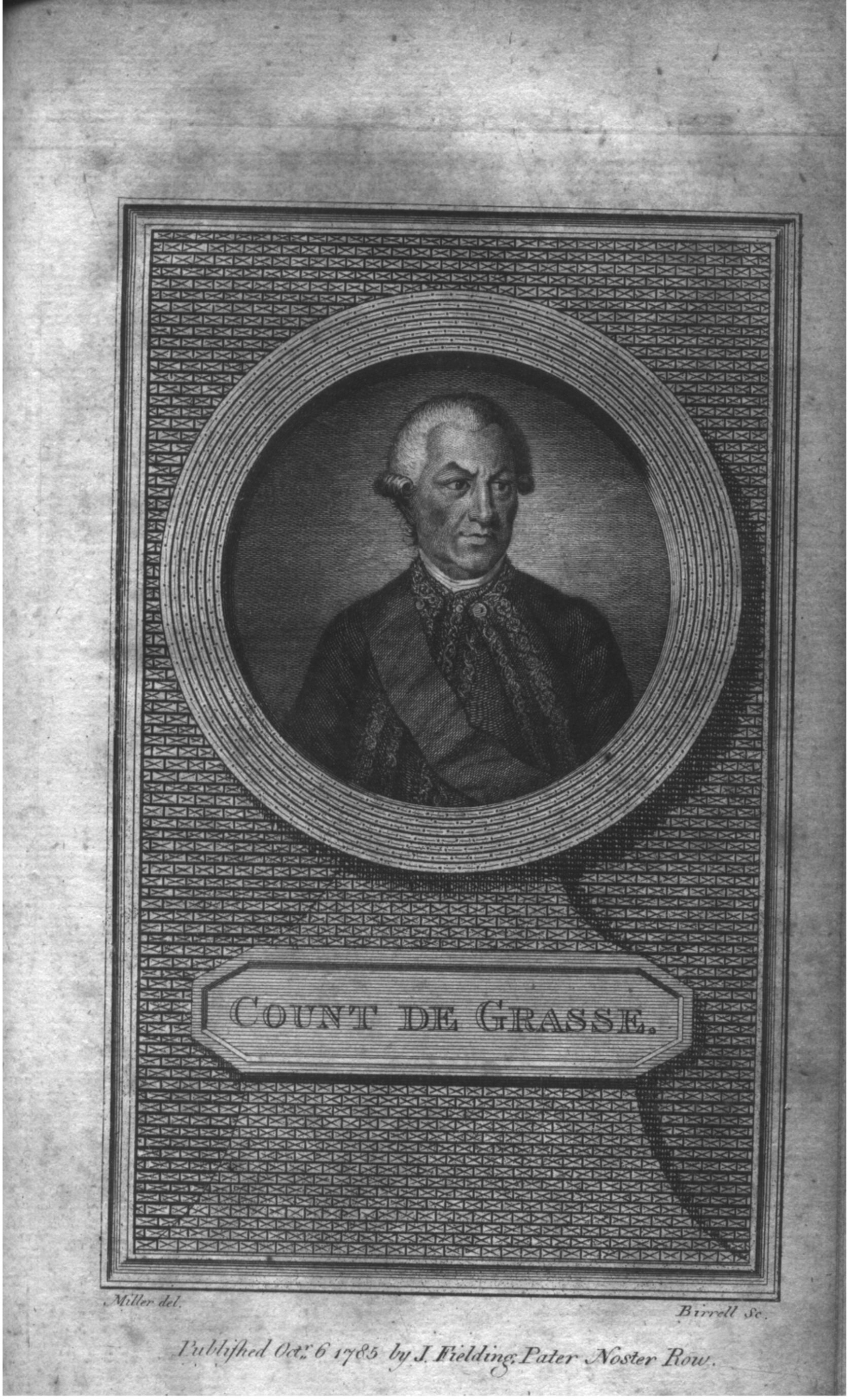
It was fortunate for Sir Samuel Hood, that not meeting with Admiral Graves at the Cheſapeak, he had proceeded to Sandy Hook. He had no more

than fourteen ſhips of the line, while Count de Graſſe was at the head of four and twenty.

No information of the arrival of the French fleet had reached New York when Admirals Graves and Hood left that place on the laſt day of Auguſt, with an intent to proceed ſouthward, in expectation of falling in with that very fleet which was ſuppoſed to be yet on its way. But on approaching the Cheſapeak, on the morning of the fifth of September, they diſcovered it at anchor, lying acroſs the entrance of the bay, and extended from Cape Henry to the middle ground.

The united force of the two Admirals amounted only to nineteen ſhips of the line. They bore down however upon the enemy with great reſolution, and gave them a fair opportunity of coming to cloſe action; but they avoided it with much care. The engagement did not commence till about four in the afternoon, owing to the difficulty of nearing the French ſufficiently for that manner of fighting which the Britiſh Admiral had in view, and which the French Admiral ſtudiouſly declined. The van of the Britiſh ſquadron bore the chief brunt of the day: notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the force with which it had to contend, it obliged the van of the French to bear away. Their center, when compelled to cover the ſhips that were retreating, did it at a conſiderable diſtance, and ſeemed to have no other intent than to conſult the general ſafety of their fleet.

The action did not end till ſun-ſet, and the Britiſh fleet was kept all night extended on a line with the enemy, in order to renew it at day-break. In this poſition both the fleets continued during the next day, repairing the damages they had ſuſtained; the French not making any motions that indicated an intention to engage.



Miller del. *Birrell Sc.*

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Out of twelve ſhips that were able to fetch the enemy ſufficiently for execution, one was ſo ſhattered, that after taking out its contents, the hull was ſet on fire; and five others had received ſo much hurt, that it was thought unadviſable to re-attack the enemy until they had been refitted. The loſs in killed and wounded did not exceed three hundred and twenty. During five days, the Britiſh and French fleets continued in ſight of each other: but notwithſtanding its advantages in number, the latter ſhowed no diſpoſition to venture a ſecond action, and conſtantly took the benefit of the wind to maintain its diſtance.

While both fleets were thus obſerving each other's motions, the ſquadron under Monſieur de Barras, who had ſucceeded M. de Ternay in the command of the French naval force at Rhode Iſland, arrived in the Cheſapeak on the tenth of September. He had left the harbour of Newport in that iſland on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and to avoid falling in with Admiral Graves, had ſtretched out a conſiderable way to ſea. He brought with him ten large tranſports, freighted with heavy artillery, and other utenſils neceſſary for the combined armies in their preſent enterprize.

The arrival of M. de Barras gave the French ſo great a ſuperiority, that it was no longer ſafe to attack them. They now anchored within Cape Henry, and blocked up the paſſage into the bay.—Two Britiſh frigates that had been diſpatched to cut away the buoys left by the French at the places of their anchoring, fell in between their two ſquadrons, and were captured. Theſe circumſtances made it expedient for the Britiſh fleet to return to New York.

The French being now in poſſeſſion of the Cheſapeak, the ſituation of the army under Lord Corn-

Count de Graſſe's fleet blocked up York river; another was ſtationed on James river; by which means all communication was cut off with the countries ſouth of it. A body of between three and four thouſand French troops was landed from this fleet, in order to join the forces under the Marquis de la Fayette, which were now daily augmenting by the arrival of thoſe conducted by General Waſhington and Count de Rochambeau. Theſe different corps formed a complete junction at Williamsburgh before the cloſe of September.

The computation of the ſtrength now employed againſt Lord Cornwallis, ſtated it at near nine thouſand French, about ten thouſand American regulars, and ſix thouſand choſen militia and markſmen. But that which proved the greateſt annoyance to the Britiſh troops, was the heavy artillery of the enemy, againſt which their own was too ſmall to be of any material ſervice.

The latter days of September were employed by the enemy in forming a regular inveſtment of the town and fortifications conſtructed by the Britiſh troops, and in ſeizing the various poſts which theſe had been obliged to abandon for want of ſufficient numbers to defend them. A remarkable emulation was obſerved between the French and Americans :— General Waſhington had ſelected his beſt troops for this important occaſion, and the French were confeſſedly choſen out of the braveſt corps in France.

The trenches before York Town were opened on the night of the ſixth of October, in two ſeparate places, by the French and Americans reſpectively. The batteries which they erected, excluſive of their being ſerved by the moſt expert people in that line, were mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon. Their weight of metal was ſuch, as ſoon to deſtroy the earthen defences the beſieged had raiſed, and to

ſlight to ſtand the leaſt competition with that of the enemy.

In the midſt of theſe difficulties, the reſolution of the Britiſh troops was in the higheſt degree conſpicuous. They were conſtantly employed in conſtructing new works, and repairing thoſe that were deſtroyed by the cannon of the beſiegers. Theſe, however, from the ſuperiority of their fire, daily gained ground, and made good their approaches towards the place. By lodging themſelves in the abandoned works, they had blocked up the beſieged in a circle of very little extent, which gave them great advantages in ſtraitning the former, confining their operations, and eſpecially in annoying every part of the garriſon from their numerous batteries.

From the ſixth, to the fourteenth of October, the fire of the enemy was inceſſantly kept up from heavy cannon, mortars, and howitzers, which did great execution. The works of the place were ſo much damaged, that it was plainly perceived they would ſhortly become untenable.

On the fourteenth, at night, two detachments of the enemy, the one French, the other Americans, attacked and ſtormed two redoubts in the front of the Britiſh works. They were defended with great valour, and not taken without uncommon exertion on the part of the enemy: the French, in particular, loſt a number of their braveſt men.

In order to deſtroy the batteries erected by the enemy on the ground that had been occupied by theſe redoubts, a vigorous ſally was made, compoſed of grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by Colonel Abercromby. They defeated the body of men that guarded theſe batteries, ſlew and wounded many of them, and retired with little loſs on their ſide, after ſpiking the guns. But the batteries were re-eſtabliſhed on the next day, and rein-

forced with an additional number of pieces; and it became impracticable, from the multitude appointed to the defence of this poſt, and the ſtrength of the works around it, to make another attempt.

The troops were at this time ſo reduced by ſickneſs, as well as by the accidents of war, that they amounted to little more than three thouſand ſix hundred men fit for duty, including ſervants and artificers. They were not able to ſhow a ſingle gun to the enemy, and their ſtock of ſhells was nearly exhauſted.

In this extremity, Lord Cornwallis, deſirous to ſave all that he could of ſo brave a body of men, reſolved to convey them over to Glouceſter Point, on the other ſide of the river. An attempt was made accordingly, but it was defeated by adverſe weather.

On the failure of this deſign, all hopes of retreat were neceſſarily at an end; and nothing remained but to make good their defence, if poſſible, until that aſſiſtance ſhould arrive which they had been ſome time expecting, and in hope of which they had encountered the hardſhips and perils of their ſituation with ſo much patience and reſolution.

The Britiſh fleet that had engaged Count de Graſſe, was at this time at New York, occupied in repairing the damages it had received, and refitting with the utmoſt expedition, in order to return to the Cheſapeak, to the relief of the Britiſh army at York Town. It had lately been joined by ſeveral ſhips of force, and now amounted to twenty-five ſail of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates. But this was a very inadequate ſtrength to that of the French fleet under Count de Graſſe, which conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſhips of the line, including the ſquadron of M. de Barras. This great diſparity made no impreſſion on the minds of the Britiſh commanders: they determined to riſk every danger

Sir Henry Clinton was no leſs ſolicitous in forwarding this reſolute attempt to the utmoſt of his power. He ſelected ſeven thouſand of his beſt troops, with which he embarked in perſon on board of the fleet. In a council of war held by the chief naval and land officers, the moſt decided reſolutions were taken to encounter the extremeſt hazards in the proſecution of the object propoſed. Herein they were fully ſeconded by the firmneſs and ſpirit of all ranks in the fleet and army. They diſplayed on this occaſion an ardour and promptitude, which excited the greateſt hopes in their commanders.

But the delays occaſioned by the preparations that were indiſpenſibly neceſſary, prevented the armament from ſailing at the time that had been expected. It was not over the bar at Sandy Hook till the nineteenth of October, though its departure had been fixed on the fifth of that month, and notice had in conſequence been given to Lord Cornwallis.

The French and Americans were duly ſenſible that every effort would be made to reſcue him.—From this motive they uſed the utmoſt endeavours to reduce him to the neceſſity of yielding before the arrival of the Britiſh ſuccours. They were thoroughly perſuaded, that could theſe effect a junction with him, the combined armies would ſtand little chance of accompliſhing their deſign. Notwithſtanding their naval ſuperiority, they were very unwilling to venture an engagement with an enemy who had always ſought them with inferior numbers, and would doubtleſs on ſuch an occaſion as the preſent, put to the higheſt teſt that courage, and thoſe profeſſional abilities they had ſo often experienced.

The conſequence of the failure to paſs the troops over to Glouceſter Point, was, that the enemy, on the diſcovery of this intent, doubled their exertions

in every quarter. The batteries they had newly erected were opened with great vivacity and execution; and as they commanded the paſſage over the river, all retreat was now cut off. An inceſſant and moſt tremendous fire was kept up on every part of the fortifications. Some of the oldeſt officers and ſoldiers in both armies, concurred in declaring, that they had never witneſſed a more heavy and continual diſcharge of artillery than that which now took place.

The works were by this time nearly demoliſhed every where; and an aſſault was every moment expected. The impoſſibility of withſtanding ſuch a multitude of aſſailants with the handful that remained, was evident. Under theſe circumſtances, Lord Cornwallis felt the neceſſity of adopting the ſpeedieſt means of preſerving the lives of his brave followers from the certain deſtruction that muſt follow in the general attack that was meditating by the enemy's fleet and army.

Conſtant watching, and unremitting duty, had totally exhauſted the ſtrength of the troops: their numbers were no longer ſufficient to relieve each other, in the unceaſing and exceſſive toil that hourly encreaſed upon them. Having carried their perſeverance to the utmoſt extremity, and no proſpect of relief appearing, a negociation was opened with General Waſhington, and propoſals made to capitulate.

In the extremity to which the garriſon at York Town was now reduced, it could do no otherwiſe than ſubmit to the terms impoſed by the conqueror. The troops and ſeamen were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The firſt were aſſigned to the Americans, the ſecond to the French.—Their number amounted to between ſix and ſeven thouſand: their private property was allowed them; and to the officers the liberty of returning to New

York, or to Britain, on parole. The artillery that fell into the hands of the Americans conſiſted of above one hundred pieces, ſeventy of which were of braſs. They took poſſeſſion of three frigates, one of twenty-eight, and two of twenty guns, beſides a number of tranſports, and other veſſels.—Many had been deſtroyed during the ſiege; among theſe was a ſhip of forty guns, ſet on fire by the ſhells of the enemy. The quantity of arms, ammunition, warlike ſtores, and proviſions, was very conſiderable.

A point ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon by Lord Cornwallis, was, that ſuch of the Americans as had joined him ſhould incur no puniſhment on that account. But General Waſhington refuſed his aſſent to this demand; aſſigning for reaſon, that it was of civil reſort, and out of his competency. In order, however, to provide for their ſafety, Lord Cornwallis ſtipulated that a large veſſel, which was to carry his letters and diſpatches to New York, ſhould proceed without being ſearched. By means of this conveyance they were effectually ſecured from danger.

All due care was taken for the good treatment of the ſoldiers belonging to the Britiſh army. They were diſtributed in the three provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, as much by regiments as practicable. Their allowance of proviſions to be the ſame as that of the American ſoldiers. One officer to fifty men, to reſide near them, for the purpoſe of inſpecting and providing for their proper treatment. At their departure for the reſpective places of their confinement, they were comfortably clad, and found in plenty of neceſſaries, and ſufficient arrangements made for their being regularly and abundantly ſupplied with all reaſonable conveniencies.

The behaviour of the enemy on this occaſion, was ſuch as did them much honour. Lord Cornwallis acknowledged in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, that their conduct had been perfectly proper. But in ſpeaking of the French, he expatiates with heart-felt ſatisfaction on the liberality of diſpoſition they manifeſted; and concludes, by hoping they would meet with a due return of gratitude, whenever the chances of war ſhould put them in the power of Engliſhmen.

In this manner was terminated in America the important and deciſive campaign of the year eighty-one. It put an end to all further expectations of bringing the independency of the Americans into queſtion. The ſpirit of enterprize that had been ſo reſolutely kept up by the Britiſh commanders, and their people, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, was now of neceſſity dropped, and confined to the narrow limits of preſerving the poſts yet in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh forces.

Never had this ſpirit been exerted with more vigour than in the expedition conducted by Lord Cornwallis. Through difficulties and trials of every kind, the brave men he commanded, animated by his example, had conquered all obſtructions, ſo far as it could be overcome in a country, from the nature of which it was impoſſible to ſubdue the reſiſtance of the inhabitants, while they continued united, and determined not to yield.

Both French and Americans, the firſt eſpecially, confeſſed that no troops could have better deſerved a happier fate than that they met with. They acted to the laſt with an intrepidity that won them the admiration of all judges of military merit. The place they had defended with ſo much courage againſt the combined armies, was not only in the words of Lord Cornwallis, but in the opinion of the enemy himſelf, no more than an intrenched camp,

ſubject

ſubject in moſt places to be enfiladed. To have made ſo noble a ſtand, in ſo diſadvantageous a poſition, was juſtly deemed an extraordinary effort of the moſt conſummate ſkill and bravery.

In the mean time, the Britiſh armament arrived from New York, in the full determination to ruſh into every danger for the preſervation of their countrymen. They appeared off the Cheſapeak on the twenty-fourth of October; but to their heavy mortification, were apprized that the ſurrender of the Britiſh army had taken place on the nineteenth, the very day they ſailed from Sandy Hook.

Both the naval and land officers were fully confident, that could they have poſſibly arrived at the time firſt propoſed, this event would undoubtedly have been prevented. It was therefore with the deeper grief they lamented a misfortune, of which they could not fail to perceive the conſequences.

The French fleet, on the other hand, notwithſtanding the elatedneſs naturally proceeding from ſucceſs, and its ſuperior ſtrength in every reſpect, did not leave the poſition it had taken. The motive of the expedition being at an end, and as no proſpect offered of drawing the enemy to action, the Britiſh commanders took the reſolution of returning to New York: they effected it without meeting the leaſt interruption.

The joy and exultation that were now ſpread over the whole continent of North America, may be better conceived than expreſſed. The ſurrender of the army under Lord Cornwallis, was conſidered as the final deciſion of the conteſt between Great Britain and the Colonies. All that now remained to be done, appeared a work of eaſe and facility in compariſon of what had, after ſo much toil and ſuffering, been at length accompliſhed. No room was now left for anxiety concerning the main objects,—independence and ſovereignty. Theſe were

now completely ſecured in the opinion of all men; and it was not doubted the Britiſh miniſtry would, ere long, be compelled to yield to neceſſity, and acknowledge them, in concurrence with the reſt of Europe.

The importance and conviction felt by General Waſhington of the magnitude of the ſucceſs obtained by the French and American arms, was ſtrongly manifeſted in the orders publiſhed in his camp the day following the reduction of the Britiſh army. The warmth of ſtile with which his thanks and congratulations were conveyed to the officers and ſoldiers of the combined armies, was ſtriking and conſpicuous. Among other particulars that teſtified the greatneſs of his ſatisfaction, he iſſued a general pardon to all perſons in the Continental army who were at this time under arreſt; in order, ſaid he, that every heart ſhould partake of the general joy.

Nor did he omit what he knew would be peculiarly acceptable to the religious turn of numbers of his countrymen. He eſpecially enjoined in the concluſion of his orders, that a thankſgiving ſervice ſhould be performed, at which it was ſolemnly recommended to the troops to aſſiſt with that ſerioufneſs and ſenſibility of heart, which the particular and ſurpriſing interpoſition of Providence in their favour ſo juſtly claimed. Such were his expreſſions.

The ſatisfaction manifeſted by Congreſs was adequate to the ſignal good fortune that had attended them. After voting their thanks to General Waſhington, Count Rochambeau, and Count de Graſſe, and to the officers and ſoldiers of the combined armies, for the ſervices they had performed, they reſolved, that in remembrance of the ſurrender of the Britiſh army, a marble column ſhould be erected at York Town, in Virginia, adorned with emblems of the alliance between France and

the United States of America, and inſcribed with a ſuccinct narrative of the memorable event it was inteded to commemorate.

Preſents and acknowledgments of various kinds were alſo ordained by Congreſs upon this occaſion, and proportioned to the rank of thoſe to whom they were decreed. General Waſhington was honoured with the addreſſes of every province in the confederacy, and with the moſt flattering applauſes from all ranks of individuals throughout the continent.

Among thoſe occurrences to which the complexion of the time gave birth, an incident happened at Philadelphia, which was noticed as the moſt remarkable circumſtance that accompanied the rejoicings which took place on account of this event.

A diſcourſe was delivered in the Roman Catholic church of that city, by Monſieur de Bandole, Chaplain to the French Reſident, at which the Congreſs aſſiſted, in complaiſance to that miniſter.—It was framed upon thoſe religious and political principles which the orator was conſcious were perfectly ſuitable to the temper and ideas of his auditory.

Addreſſing himſelf to the people of America—"Thoſe miracles," ſaid he, "which the Almighty once wrought for his choſen people, are again renewed in your favour. It would be equally ungrateful and impious not to acknowledge, that the event which lately confounded your enemies, and fruſtrated their deſigns, was the wonderful work of that God who guards your liberties.

"Who but He could ſo combine the circumſtances which led to ſucceſs?—We have ſeen our enemies puſh forward amidſt perils almoſt innumerable, amidſt obſtructions almoſt inſurmountable, to the ſpot which was deſigned for their defeat: yet they eagerly ſought it, as a place of triumph.

" Blind as they were! they bore hunger, thirſt, and inclement ſkies; poured out their blood in battle, and croſſed immenſe regions, to confine themſelves in another Jericho, whoſe walls were fated to fall before another Joſhua. It is He whoſe voice commands the ſeaſons, winds, and ſeas, who formed a junction in the moſt critical hour, between that formidable fleet from the South, and that army which was ruſhing like an impetuous torrent from the North. Who but He, in whoſe hands are the hearts of men, could inſpire the allied troops with the friendſhip, the confidence, the tenderneſs of brethren?—How is it, that two nations, once divided, jealous, inimical, and nurſed in reciprocal prejudices, are now become ſo cordially united as to form but one?—Worldlings would ſay, it is the wiſdom, the virtue, and the moderation of their chiefs; it is a great national intereſt which has performed this prodigy: they will ſay, that to the ſkill of the generals, to the courage of the troops, to the activity of the whole army, we muſt attribute this ſplendid ſucceſs. Ah! they are ignorant that the combining of ſo many fortunate circumſtances, is an emanation from the All-perfect Mind; that courage, that ſkill, that activity, bear the ſecret impreſſion of Him who is divine.

" For how many favours have we not to thank Him during the courſe of the preſent year?—Your union, which was at firſt ſupported by juſtice alone, has now been conſolidated by your courage. You now preſent to the univerſe, the noble ſight of a ſociety, which, founded on equality, ſecures to the individuals who compoſe it, the utmoſt happineſs which can be derived from human inſtitutions. This advantage, which ſo many other nations have been unable to procure, even after ages of effort and miſery, is granted by Divine Providence to the United States; and his adorable decrees have

marked the prefent moment for the completion of that memorable revolution which has taken place on this extenfive continent."

This celebrated difcourfe was received with univerfal applaufe by its audience, and fpoken of among the public as a maſterly compofition, judiciouſly timed, and perfectly correſponding with the perſuaſion and diſpoſition of the generality of the inhabitants of America. Certain it is, that throughout the whole of this unhappy conteſt, the people in the Colonies, thoſe in the North eſpecially, were intimately convinced that their cauſe was founded on the ſtrongeſt baſis of equity, and that they had the cleareſt reaſon to hope that Heaven would interpoſe in their behalf. This belief was diffuſed among all claſſes, and diligently enforcced by their ruling men.

They had not been a little confirmed in theſe notions by the critical arrival of Count de Graſſe in the Cheſapeak, on the very ſame day, and at the very ſame hour, when the combined armies reached the head of the river Elk. The fortunate junction of the ſquadron under Monſieur de Barras, was viewed in the ſame light: without this acceſſion, the naval ſtrength of France would have been unequal to the operations propoſed; but by ſuch a reinforcement, obtained at once a ſuperiority that became irreſiſtible and deciſive.

What coincided no leſs with theſe ideas, was the ſituation of affairs at the commencement of the year. The ſpirit and reſources of Great Britain had been diſplayed in a manner that aſtoniſhed all Europe. Her reſolute behaviour with Holland, the undauntedneſs with which ſhe continued to face France and and Spain, the immenſe ſums ſhe had raiſed in ſupport of the war, the numerous fleets and armies with which ſhe oppoſed her ene-

mies in every quarter of the globe, the ſucceſſes that had lately attended her arms in the ſouthern Colonies, and the diſtreſſes of every denomination to which the American continent was evidently reduced, afforded little proſpect of the preſent campaign terminating ſo advantageouſly to thoſe enemies whoſe humiliation ſhe had principally in view, and whom ſhe now conſidered as driven to the brink of deſpair.

While the religious part of ſociety was indulging itſelf in contemplations of this nature, politicians were no leſs buſily employed in conſidering how to make the moſt of this auſpicious turn of affairs, and in what manner to improve to their benefit an event that viſibly led to the great revolution which was the ultimate object of their efforts and wiſhes.

CHAP.

THE
EAST INDIES,
Distinguishing the
EMPIRES AND KINGDOMS
on the CONTINENT
commonly called
INDIA.
PERSIA
DESERT
ANONKEK
KING OF TIBET
OR MOGULS EMPIRE
INDIAN OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
CHINA
CEYLAN I.
Gulf of Sindi
Gulf of Cambay
Gulf of Martaban
Gulf of Siam
Mouths of Ganges
Head of the Ganges
Mount Ganges
Str. of Chilac
Str. of Malacca
Malacca
Bombay
Madras F. St. George
Pondicheri
Jafanapatan
Trinquimale
Batecalo
Pomene
Colombo
Comorin
Cochin
Goa
Visapour
Golconda
Masulipatan
Brampour
Chitor
Cambay
Cambaya
Cachao
Domea
Canton
Macao
Hainan I.
Pracel
Nehotman
Cecir I.
Camboja R.
Condor
Ubi I.
Panjang
Ladda
Ridang I.
Natuna Is.
Anambas
Romain
Biayos
Tigan Is.
St. Mary
Lakdiva Is.
Maldiva Is.
Maldiva, Residence of the King
These Islands are divided into 13 Governments, called Attols.
EQUATOR
Deg E. from London.

CHAP. LXIII.

Tranſactions in India to the Cloſe of Eighty-one.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Europe and the American hemiſphere, the Britiſh Empire in the Eaſt was experiencing great viciſſitudes of fortune, and ſeemed expoſed to the ſame danger as on the continent of North-America.

Thoſe who preſided over the poſſeſſions of Great-Britain in that rich and extenſive quarter of the globe, were at this time involved, from various cauſes, in a perilous quarrel with the two moſt potent of their neighbours. Theſe were the warlike and populous nation of the Marattas, and the celebrated Hyder Ally, one of the greateſt politicians and warriors that was ever known in India. From ſmall beginnings he had, through courage and artifice, arrived to a degree of power that rendered him the moſt conſiderable Prince in that part of Aſia; but his views were not yet ſatisfied; his active and capacious mind had long been forming plans of further aggrandiſement, and he was now engaged in the full career of their proſecution.

Some years antecedent to the preſent period, the Eaſt-India Company had been involved in a dangerous conteſt with him, which was terminated by a treaty, wherein it was reciprocally agreed, that both ſhould aſſiſt each other againſt their enemies. A war breaking out ſhortly after between him and the Marattas, he claimed the aſſiſtance of the Company in virtue of this ſtipulation: but they refuſed it; alleging their apprehenſion to draw themſelves into a quarrel with the Marattas, a meaſure which they could not juſtify, and to which they were not inclined.

In the mean time, as the fortune of Hyder Ally ſeemed to give way to the ſuperior ſtrength and exertions of the Marattas, he again applied for ſuccours to the Preſidency of Madras; but experienced conſtant denials, on various pretences, and was at length convinced that he could place no reliance on their friendſhip.

This laid the foundation of an inveterate reſentment in Hyder Ally. Having found means to conclude a peace with the Marattas, he turned his attention to the means of recovering his loſſes upon the firſt opportunity that might offer. For this purpoſe he ſought a connexion with the French, who, on the other hand, readily embraced ſo favourable an occaſion to ſtrengthen their intereſt in India. They fell in with all his views. They ſupplied him with warlike neceſſaries in the greateſt abundance; and what was of ſtill greater utility, with a number of officers and military men. Through their aſſiſtance he introduced an order and diſcipline among his troops, to which the armies of Indian Princes had hitherto been total ſtrangers. Among other eſſential improvements he collected a formidable artillery, with a numerous and well-trained body of men to ſerve it, a large proportion of which conſiſted of Europeans.

When he found himſelf ſufficiently prepared for the ends he had propoſed, he recommenced the war againſt the Marattas, and carried it on with ſuch a ſeries of advantages, as gave him a decided ſuperiority over them. He now became the moſt dreaded and powerful prince in that vaſt peninſula ſituated between the Indus and the Ganges.

Excluſive of the ſecret ill-will of Hyder Ally, the Engliſh had at this period no leſs a dangerous enemy. The Marattas were highly at variance with them, on account of the interference in the internal affairs of that nation aſſumed by the Com-

pany. It had, contrary to the ſenſe and deſire of thoſe by whom that nation was governed, eſpouſed the cauſe of an individual univerſally obnoxious to his countrymen, from his infamous character; and had endeavoured to inveſt him with a degree of authority, of which he was evidently unworthy, and to which he had no lawful claim.

In the proceſs of the diſpute to which this attempt gave birth, ſeveral negociations took place between the Company and the Marattas, but they proved ineffectual from the determination of the former, to adhere to the project it had formed of profiting by their civil diſſentions, and the difficulties they experienced in the war they were at the ſame time waging with Hyder Ally.

Perplexed by the treatment they met with from the Company, and dreading the danger to which they were expoſed by continuing the war againſt Hyder Alley in ſuch critical circumſtances, they determined to conclude a peace with him, in order to be the better able to make a ſtand againſt the Company.

In the mean time the power to which this body had attained in India, and the deſign of increaſing it, which could not eſcape the notice of the Indian Princes, occaſioned theſe to feel much jealouſy and diſquietude. A gradual communication of their ſentiments on this matter was reciprocally made, and excited the reſolution to put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of the Engliſh, which threatened in time to bring under their ſubjection all the potentates of India.

A confederacy was formed between the moſt potent princes in the vaſt country of Indoſtan; the avowed purpoſe of which was to expel the Engliſh from that part of the world. The motives they aſſigned for this reſolution were the rapacity and ambition manifeſted by the conduct of the Engliſh.

and their evident intention to ſtop at nothing for the gratification of both, upon every opportunity that fell in their way.

The chief parties in this dangerous league were the Marattas and Hyder Ally, both of whom had agreed to a pacification, in order to join their forces and make a common cauſe againſt the Company. The latter was however the moſt to be apprehended from his character, and the objects he had in view. Bold and enterpriſing, yet cautious and full of ſagacity and foreſight, he was an enemy who, though actuated by the keeneſt ardour, proceeded upon plans formed with the utmoſt coolneſs and examination. The expulſion of the Engliſh, which was the ultimate aim of the Confederation, of which he was the principal member, was to him but a part of the vaſt ſyſtem he had projected. This was to raiſe himſelf to a ſupremacy above all his neighbours, and to eſtabliſh a kind of univerſal monarchy: A ſcheme, which he was conſcious could not be accomplished, without the total deſtruction of the Engliſh power in India.

Fraught with theſe ideas, and firmly bent on their execution, he ſoon found an occaſion to proceed to hoſtilities with the Company. Excluſive of the general motives of the combination framed againſt them, he was highly incenſed at the liberty they had lately taken, to order a detachment of their troops to march through a part of his territories, without receiving his permiſſion. This had offended him the more, as he ſtood upon dubious terms with the prince, to whom they were ſent as auxiliaries. The conſequence was, that theſe troops were oppoſed and compelled to deſiſt from their intention; and that Hyder Ally invaded that prince's country, and forced him to renounce the connection he had formed with the Engliſh, from

the impoſſibility of his fulfilling the engagements on which it was founded.

The taking of the French fort and ſettlement of Mahic, on the coaſt of Malabar, afforded him another ground of complaint. He aſſerted that place to be within his dominions, and that the French were of courſe under his protection.

He was in the mean while taking the moſt effectual meaſures for the proſecution of the main deſign of the Indian Confederacy againſt the Engliſh. Private negociations were carried on between him and the emiſſaries of France, who gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the firmeſt ſupport. His troops were aſſembling from every part of his dominions, and every proviſion making for the great blow he was now meditating againſt the Company.

His chief aim in all theſe mighty preparations was the Britiſh ſettlement at Madras, againſt which he entertained a particular pique and reſentment. He accuſed that Preſidency of having infringed the treaty, formerly made with a view of laying the foundation of a ſolid peace and cordial correſpondence, and of being guilty of ſuch acts of enmity, as ſhewed them to be his inveterate foes.

During theſe preparations on the part of Hyder Ally, the Preſidency of Madras remained in a ſtate of unaccountable inactivity. They were daily informed of his proceedings, yet no meaſure was taken to counteract them. They were unhappily employed in differences and perſonal altercations, that deprived them of the power of acting either with conſiſtency or energy.

So great was the neglect occaſioned by theſe diſſentions, that the paſſes through the mountains on the borders of the Carnatic were left unguarded, as if it had been a time of profound peace, and no ſuſpicion exiſted of the approach of any enemy.

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This negligence was an additional ſpur to the enterpriſing diſpoſition of Hyder Ally. He improved it with his uſual ability, by ſecuring thoſe paſſages with the utmoſt ſpeed. With the ſame diligence he marched his army through them, before any oppoſition could be made to its paſſage, or any endeavours to recover them.

Notwithſtanding theſe movements the ſame defect of vigilance and vigour ſtill prevailed at Madras. They were debating about the deſigns of Hyder Ally, and the conduct to be adopted againſt him, while he was penetrating into the very heart of the Carnatic, and advancing to the gates of Madras. He was now at the head of an army of upwards of one hundred thouſand men; among whom was a large body of Europeans under French officers, and commanded by Colonel Lally, a man of known expertneſs and bravery.

Had the troops belonging to the Preſidency of Madras been properly collected, this irruption of Hyder Alley might eaſily have been prevented; but they were ſo much diſperſed, that no oppoſition could be formed at the preſent. He was now maſter of the open country, which he ravaged and over-ran without reſiſtance.

A conſiderable body of the Company's troops was at this time ſtationed in a diſtrict called Guntoor. It was thought neceſſary at Madras, to ſend orders to it to march with all expedition to reinforce the army that was forming under the command of Sir Hector Monro. To effect the more ſpeedy a junction, the army moved forwards to meet this body, which was commanded by Colonel Baillie, an officer of great valour and experience, and compoſed of as excellent troops as any in the Company's ſervice. But the difficulties of the march it had to perform were ſo many, that its progreſs was

extremely ſlow, and attended with every kind of danger.

The march of the army itſelf, that was on its way to join this body, met with a multitude of retardments. The numerous forces of Hyder Ally haraſſed it on every ſide; and when arrived at Conjeveram, the place where the junction was to be made, it was found that Hyder Ally's army had poſted itſelf in ſuch a manner as effectually to prevent it.

He now divided his forces in two parts. With the one he faced Sir Hector, the other he detached in order to make an attack upon Colonel Baillie, but it was, after a long and bloody conflict, intirely defeated. Notwithſtanding this advantage, the ſituation of the Colonel was extremely dangerous; the intervention of ſuch a prodigious force as that under Hyder Ally, rendered his marching forward to join Sir Hector Monro, abſolutely impracticable with ſo ſmall a force; and the utmoſt he could do, was to maintain his poſition, which, however, was highly difficult from the want of proviſions.

Sir Hector Monro was in no leſs perplexing a dilemma: his whole force conſiſted of only ſix thouſand men, and though a great proportion of them was Europeans, his cavalry was but a handful, totally unable to contend with the immenſe numbers of which that of Hyder Ally was compoſed. The country where the enemy lay was an extenſive flat, which afforded every advantage to their cavalry, and expoſed his troops to the maniſeſt danger of being ſurrounded by it on every ſide.

In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the reſolution was taken in the Britiſh army, to diſpatch Colonel Fletcher, an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage and ability, at the head of a body of choſen men, to reinforce Colonel Baillie. They took their departure at the beginning of the night, and by a long and

circuitous march, avoided an ambuſcade that had been prepared by the enemy, and effected a junction with Colonel Baillie.

On receiving this intelligence, Hyder Ally became apprehenſive that it was intended to attack him on both ſides, and deliberated accordingly about a change in his poſition; but being informed that the troops under Sir Hector Monro did not ſhew any deſign of moving from their incampment, he detached his braveſt men and beſt officers, to way lay the detachment under Colonels Baillie and Fletcher.

Theſe two officers having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the arduous buſineſs they were about to undertake, begun their march at the break of day, and proceeded forward with the utmoſt firmneſs and order. When they had reached the ſpot where the enemy awaited them, they were ſuddenly aſſailed on the right and left, with a moſt dreadful fire of muſketry and cannon, loaded with grape-ſhot. They bore this attack with undaunted courage, and tho' they had no more than ten pieces of cannon to return the diſcharge of ſixty; they made ſuch excellent uſe of them, that the enemy were repulſed with a terrible ſlaughter, and after repeated attempts to break their order of march, Hyder Ally began to deſpair of accompliſhing his purpoſe.

The battle had now laſted three hours. Notwithſtanding the flower of Hyder Ally's army was employed upon this occaſion, not the leaſt impreſſion had been made on Colonel Baillie's corps, though it had to contend with a body of infantry conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, and one of cavalry exceeding twenty-five thouſand, and was not itſelf computed at above five thouſand, about a fifth part of which were Europeans.

Hyder

Hyder Ally was not without apprehenſions, that the forces under General Monro might, while he was engaged with Colonel Baillie, advance upon him from the other ſide. In order to confine their attention to their own quarter, by impreſſing them with a perſuaſion, that his intention was to attack them, large bodies of his cavalry paraded in ſight of the Engliſh camp, and ſeemed by their motions to indicate an attempt upon it.

Till near ten in the forenoon, the ſucceſs of the day was evidently in favour of the Engliſh; when through an unfortunate accident, victory was ſnatched out of their hands, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, no leſs than their own.

Hyder Ally was ſo convinced of his inability to keep the field any longer, that he had given poſitive orders for a retreat, and was actually drawing off his troops, when the tunbrils that carried the gunpowder belonging to the Britiſh detachment, were ſuddenly blown up, andthe whole remaining ſtock of ammunition was thereby at once deſtroyed.

The exploſion, together with the deſtruction it occaſioned, and the confuſion into which it threw the Engliſh, being immediately perceived by the enemy, they returned to the charge with the utmoſt ſpeed. Hyder Ally's ſon, Tippoo Saib, a prince of great ſpirit and ability, fell in upon them at the head of his cavalry, before they could have time to recover from their diſorder; and aſſiſted by a large body of French infantry broke every where into their line. The ſlaughter was dreadful; ſcarce a Sepoy eſcaping.

The European diviſion of the army keeping together in a compact body, fought their way with their bayonets to a riſing ground, where Colonel Baillie drew the men up in a ſquare. Both himſelf and moſt of his people were covered with wounds: but in this grievous condition, deſtitute of ammu-

nition, and having no other weapons than their bayonets and ſwords, they withſtood, with an invincible fortitude, the unceaſing attacks of the enemy, that poured upon them from all ſides a continual deluge of fire.

They were at length overwhelmed by the multitudes that preſt upon them; but they fell like men who diſdained to ſurvive their misfortune: lying on the ground, and weltering in their blood, they ſtill preſented their bayonets at the victorious and ſlaughtering enemy.

The deſtruction that befell the Britiſh European troops on this fatal day, was terrible for the proportion employed in this part of the world: it amounted to near ſeven hundred ſlain. Among the many gallant officers that fell, was the brave Colonel Fletcher, whoſe loſs alone would have been eſteemed a heavy calamity.

His fellow-commander, Colonel Baillie, had the good fortune to eſcape with life, with about two hundred of his men, who were made priſoners.—When brought into the preſence of Hyder Ally, that reſolute officer behaved with the ſame intrepidity which he had diſplayed in the field. He boldly told him, that mere accident had given him the victory; and that he himſelf had already gained it, when it was wreſted from his hands by a miſchance, which prudence could not foreſee, nor valour prevent.—Such was the iſſue of this famous battle, which was fought on the tenth of September of the year eighty.

But this accidental victory was dearly purchaſed by the enemy. The havock made among them was ſo great, that it was induſtriouſly concealed by the order of Hyder Ally. He was equally aſhamed and incenſed, that ſo inconſiderable a body of men ſhould have been able to deſtroy ſuch numbers of his braveſt troops, and that the ſucceſs he had ob-

tained, ſhould have been owing to an unforeſeen caſualty, and by no means to the military exertions of his people.

Theſe reflexions could not fail to break in upon his mind, in the midſt of the triumph and exultation, which, from good policy, he was particularly careful to encourage among his officers and ſoldiers, upon this memorable occaſion.

He was, however, ſo deeply ſtruck at the ſame time, with the aſtoniſhing intrepidity of the Britiſh troops, that he ſeemed ever after to conſider them with a degree of terror, which he had not felt before. On the bare rumour of Sir Hector Munro's army approaching, he withdrew in the utmoſt confuſion, relinquiſhing a great part of his camp and baggage, and abandoning thoſe vaſt numbers that had been wounded in the late action.

But his apprehenſions in this inſtance were groundleſs. On learning the diſaſter that had befallen Colonel Baillie's corps, the troops under Sir Hector Munro, were fired with ſuch wrath and indignation, that they expreſt the moſt vehement deſire to be led immediately againſt the enemy, in order to wreak their revenge upon them, for the loſs of their fellow ſoldiers; but the General thought it imprudent to indulge their ardour. He was conſcious of the weak ſtate of his army, the diminution it had ſuffered from the detachment he had ſent to the aſſiſtance of Colonel Baillie, and which was now intirely loſt; his total want of proviſions, his deſtitution of cavalry, and above all, the certain deſtruction that muſt fall upon Madras, and all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Carnatic, were he to meet with ill fortune in the preſent poſture of affairs.

From theſe conſiderations he reſolved to make a retreat, though much to the diſſatisfaction of the troops, and of many of the officers under his com-

mand. The irregularity and diſorder produced by theſe diſcontents, afforded the enemy an opportuity of harraſſing them exceedingly on their march to the neighbourhood of Madras, where it was now determined to wait the reinforcements that were on their way thither, before entering upon any offenſive operations.

The conſequences of the late defeat were in the mean time highly alarming. The diſſentions in the Preſidency became daily more violent. Their authority decreaſed to ſuch a degree, that a body of Sepoys openly revolted; and the countries in their ſubjection retained ſo little attachment to their government, that the generality of the inhabitants were in the intereſts of Hyder Ally.

He was now occupied in the ſiege of Arcot, the capital of the Nabob of that name; but the ſubjects of this Indian Prince, and ancient ally to the Company, were ſo ill affected to him, that numbers of his ſoldiers had deſerted to Hyder Ally: theſe, together with the deſerters from the Company, were eſteemed the beſt troops in the enemy's ſervice.

The accounts of the deplorable ſituation of the Britiſh affairs in the Carnatic, arriving at Bengal, the Supreme Council was ſtruck with equal aſtoniſhment and concern, and determined immediately on uſing every exertion in its power, for the preſervation of this important branch of the Britiſh empire in India. A large body of troops, and an ample ſupply of money, were decreed for its relief, and that brave and illuſtrious officer, Sir Eyre Coote, at this period commander in chief of all the Britiſh forces in India, was requeſted to aſſume the conduct of this expedition, in which, notwithſtanding a very precarious ſtate of health, he chear-

On his arrival at Madras, he found matters in a worſe condition than they had been repreſented, and than he expected. A ſpiritleſſneſs and inactivity ſeemed to prevail among thoſe who were at the head of affairs, that infected all their councils and operations. Perſonal variances engroſſed all their attention and induced a neglect of all other objects. Notwithſtanding the immediate danger of immediate ruin, the preparations to reſiſt the numerous and victorious enemy were carried on with the moſt ſcandalous tardineſs. They had wholly forfeited the reſpect and confidence of the natives, and even of their own people: the complaints among the officers and men were equally open and acrimonious. It was inſinuated that no dependance could be placed on the conduct of perſons whoſe imprudence had occaſioned ſo many calamities.

Hyder Ally was not wanting to improve all theſe untoward circumſtances to the utmoſt. His forces infeſted all the places in the proximity of Madras, and extended themſelves on all ſides in ſuch a manner as to render the communication with ſome of the outpoſts abſolutely impracticable, and in a great meaſure to cut off all ſupplies.

The ſiege of Arcot was in the mean time continued with ſuch vigour, that the defences being intirely ruined, it was taken by ſtorm in the beginning of November, together with a ſtrong fort adjoining to it; the loſs of the place was heavily felt from the immenſe quantity of warlike ſtores it contained, and that fell into the hands of the enemy, at a time when he was beginning to want them, and when they were ſtill more neceſſary to thoſe for whom they had been provided.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when Sir Eyre Coote took the command of the Britiſh forces in the Carnatic. His reputation however was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that Hyder Ally thought it immediate-

ly requiſite to alter the nature of his operations, and to proceed with unuſual cautiouſneſs.

Retaining under his immediate command the beſt diſciplined of his troops, he made large detachments of his immenſe army, which laid ſiege to the moſt important fortreſſes belonging to the Company. He made no doubt of their ſpeedily falling into his hands for want of relief, as the neceſſity of facing him would prevent Sir Eyre Coote from venturing to divide the ſmall army collected under the walls of Madras, and which did not amount to eight thouſand effective men.

But the Britiſh General was convinced that to remain inactive at the preſent juncture, would embolden the enemy and diſhearten his own people. He therefore formed a plan for the relief of Wandewaſh, one of the beſieged places that appeared moſt in danger. His intentions meeting with the approbation of the Council of War, and of the Preſidency, all things were prepared for their vigorous proſecution.

In the beginning of the year eighty-one, Sir Eyre Coote moved from the encampment that had ſo long been occupied near Madras, to the great ſatisfaction of the army, which had ill brooked its confinement at that place, while the enemy was over-running the neighbouring country. He advanced with all expedition to the aſſiſtance of Wandewaſh; his ſucceſs in relieving which, it was not doubted, would make a ſtrong impreſſion upon the enemy, and contribute materially to the deliverance of the other places attacked by them.

But Hyder Ally did not think it ſafe to wait his approach; he abandoned the ſiege of every place that his troops had inveſted, and retired to a conſiderable diſtance no the other ſide of the Palaar, a river of which it had been expected he would have diſputed the paſſage. After reinforcing the garriſons

of thoſe, and other places, Sir Eyre Coote continued to advance upon the enemy, who ſtill retreated before him with a marked determination to avoid any engagement.

The ſucceſs of this firſt expedition under Sir Eyre Coote, produced a total change in the face of affairs. Hyder Ally, from being maſter of the field, had been compelled to quit it on the very appearance of the Britiſh army. The terror of his arms was now entirely vaniſhed: he had been driven to a diſtance that removed all apprehenſions of danger from him; aud inſtead of being the aggreſſor, as before, was now reduced to act himſelf on the defenſive.

This reſtoration of good fortune to the Britiſh affairs ſtruck a damp on all their numerous enemies, both open and concealed, and animated their own people to freſh exertions. A ſpirit of vigour and deciſion now took place of the languor and inattentiveneſs which had been the principal cauſes of paſt misfortunes, and had enabled Hyder Ally to execute thoſe deſigns which he never would have dared to attempt, but from his knowledge of the diſtractions that prevailed among the Engliſh at Madras.

After forcing Hyder Ally to relinquiſh his original enterpriſe, the next important ſervice of which the performance required the utmoſt expedition, was the ſecuring of Pondicherry. After the reduction of that ſettlement two years before, the French, who remained there, had been treated with the moſt exemplary lenity; their private property had been left untouched, and all their officers, both civil and military, had been indulged with every kind of liberty, upon giving their parole. But the unexpected ſucceſſes of Hyder Ally, and the expectations of the arrival of a powerful ſquadron and body of men from France, had wrought

ſuch a change in their behaviour, that they could not conceal their diſpoſition to avail themſelves of the firſt opportunity of breaking through their engagements with the Engliſh.

The well-grounded ſuſpicions entertained by thoſe, induced them to judge it neceſſary to remove to Madras the principal, and ſuch as appeared the moſt ill-intentioned and dangerous among the French inhabitants at Madras. Theſe latter however made ſuch proteſtations of their fidelity, that the Britiſh Preſidency granted them permiſſion to remain at Pondicherry, upon their ſigning a ſolemn promiſe, to adhere with the ſtricteſt punctuality to the articles of the capitulation.

But this lenity could not overcome their determination to infringe them as ſoon as they imagined they might do it with ſecurity. The neceſſity of the times obliging the Britiſh garriſon to withdraw from that place to Madras, the French immediately threw off the maſk, and proceeded to raiſe a large body of thoſe ſepoys that had formerly been in their ſervice, and to collect a large quantity of proviſions for the uſe of the ſquadron and troops, of which they daily expected the arrival from Europe and the iſlands of Mauritius.

In order to obviate the deſigns of the French at Pondicherry, they were forthwith diſarmed. The magazines they had amaſſed were ſeized, and all the boats in their poſſeſſion deſtroyed. The neceſſity of theſe precautions appeared ſhortly after. A French ſquadron, according to expectation, arrived off Pondicherry, in full confidence of being ſupplied with water and other neceſſaries; but was obliged to depart without meeting with the leaſt aſſiſtance, for want of ſmall craft to convey them on board.

In the mean time the army of Hyder Ally had received large reinforcements from every part of

his dominions, and was become ſo formidable, that he began to conceive hopes of being able again to try his fortune in battle. It amounted to near two hundred thouſand men, forty thouſand of whom were cavalry, and fifteen thouſand well diſciplined Sepoys. He now turned his views to the ſiege of Trichinopoly, and to an attempt on the diſtricts to the ſouth of Madras.

Sir Eyre Coote moved with all diligence to their protection; his deficiency in cavalry ſubjected him to numberleſs inconveniences and dangers; but the ſpirit of his troops was equal to every difficulty. His army was encamped at Porte Novo for the benefit of receiving neceſſaries from the ſquadron under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, without whoſe aſſiſtance its preſent operations could not have taken place.

Hyder Ally, notwithſtanding the immenſity of his ſtrength, did not dare to commit himſelf in the open field with Sir Eyre Coote. He had taken a very advantageous poſition, within a ſmall diſtance of the Britiſh army, for the purpoſe of harraſſing it with his cavalry, and preventing it from receiving ſupplies by land.

Having taken the reſolution to attack him, Sir Eyre Coote began his march to that intent early in the morning. He had not proceeded far before he diſcovered that Hyder Ally's arrangements correſponded exactly with thoſe he had made in the engagement with Colonel Baillie. The route which was of neceſſity to be taken by the Britiſh army, was commanded by numerous batteries: it advanced nevertheleſs with the utmoſt firmneſs and good order, returning but few ſhot to thoſe of the enemy, and reſerving its fire for cloſe and deciſive action.

On reconnoitring the enemy's ſituation, Sir Eyre Coote determined to make a movement to their left, in order to turn it, and thereby avoid the attacking

them in their front, where his troops would be expoſed to the full fire of their batteries in every direction. This motion was performed with great reſolution and celerity by his firſt line; the ſecond, in the mean time, taking poſſeſſion of a high ground in the intermediate ſpace between them, by which means the communication between both was maintained, and the enemy prevented from cutting off either of them from the ſupport of the other.

Hyder Ally, on perceiving this new diſpoſition of the Britiſh army, was compelled to change his own order of battle: he formed his army in three diviſions; the firſt was oppoſed to the line under Sir Eyre Coote, the ſecond to that under General Stuart, which occupied the heights, aud the third was ordered to penetrate through a valley between them, and then dividing to the right and left, to attack the rear of both.

Theſe various movements of both armies took up ſo much time, that it was nine o'clock before the action commenced, by Sir Eyre Coote's line charging the enemy's left. It received him with great courage and ſteadineſs, and ſtood its ground with an order and obſtinacy unuſual in the armies of Indian Princes, till inculcated by the abilities of Hyder Ally.

His right-wing had in the mean time advanced upon General Stuart's line, and attacked him with the utmoſt fury; while that body which was deſigned to make its way through the ground between both the Britiſh lines, exerted itſelf vigorouſly to this intent. The diſpute was long maintained here with great valour and perſeverance on both ſides.

The military talents of Hyder Ally rendered this one of the ſevereſt conflicts that ever happened between an European and Indian army. It laſted from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon.—

The ſkill and experience of Sir Eyre Coote and his officers, and the bravery and diſcipline of his ſoldiers were put on this day to their fulleſt teſt: it was not without the extremeſt efforts of generalſhip and intrepidity, that the enemy was obliged at length to give way on all parts, after having been foiled in every attempt, with a terrible ſlaughter of their braveſt troops, and the loſs of Hyder Ally's principal general, and his beſt officers.

This memorable victory was obtained on the firſt of July, eighty-one. It would have proved far more deciſive, had the Britiſh army been able to purſue the enemy. But the want of cavalry was an evil that occaſioned many others. Through this deficiency the enemy was enabled to carry off his cannon and baggage, and to make good his retreat, while Sir Eyre Coote was obliged to be contented with remaining maſter of the field.

It was however to ſmall glory to have defeated the greateſt warrior perhaps that was ever produced in India, at the head of an army, formed and created, as it were, by his own ſuperior genius and induſtry, and brought by his indefatigable endeavours to a ſtate of profeſſional regularity and diſcipline equal to that of European veterans. What rendered the defeating of ſuch a man, and ſuch an army the more conſpicuous, was the nature of the ſtrength with which it was effected: excepting about two thouſand Britiſh officers and ſoldiers, the reſidue of Sir Eyre Coote's army was, like that of Hyder Ally, compoſed of natives of India, little more than ſix thouſand in number.

The loſs of this battle wrought an immediate change in Hyder Ally's plan of warfare. He ſeemed for a while determined to renounce all general engagements on open ground. In conſequence of this determination, he drew off his army to a conſiderable diſtance from that of Sir Eyre Coote,

and even abandoned a ſtrong paſs on its approach.

Having fruſtrated the deſigns of Hyder Ally on the Britiſh poſſeſſions to the ſouth of Madras, the army now proceeded to the northern, in order to cover the march of a large body of Seapoys that was coming from Bengal to join it. Strengthened by this junction, Sir Eyre Coote laid ſiege to Trepaſſore, with an intent to draw Hyder Ally to another action.

This place being of importance, that Prince haſtened to its ſuccour accordingly; but it was taken on the very day of his arrival in ſight of it; on which he retreated to the ſpot where he had the preceding year defeated Colonel Baillie. Here he diſpoſed his army in much the ſame manner as he had done on that day; hoping, perhaps, that the Britiſh troops might be drawn into the like difficulties as the unfortunate corps under that officer had been.

In this hope he ſeemed to have ſuſpended his determination to hazard no action in the field. He prepared for this ſecond trial with his accuſtomed foreſight and care: no advantage of ground was loſt batteries were planted in every place where they could do the moſt execution, and the poſts occupied by his forces were choſen with the utmoſt judgment.

The diſpoſition of Hyder Ally's army was ſuch, that in their approaching to attack it, the Britiſh troops were expoſed to a terrible fire from ſeveral batteries in various directions. They cloſed in, however, upon the enemy, in ſpite of all obſtructions, and aſſailed them with the ſame vigour they had done in the preceding engagement.

The remembrance of what had happened on the ground where both armies were now fighting, operated equally upon each: that of Hyder Ally was

and that of Sir Eyre Coote, to take a ſignal revenge for that defeat. From theſe different motives, the conflict between them was carried on during a time unprecedented in any former battle; it continued with unabated ardour and animoſity in both parties, from eight in the morning, till near duſk.

The victory was deciſive in favour of the Britiſh army:—That of Hyder Ally was completely routed, and driven from every poſt it had occupied. This, however, was not effected without the loſs of ſome very brave officers, as well as ſoldiers, a greater number of whom fell on this occaſion than on the former. This was owing to the vaſt fire of the enemy's artillery, no leſs than to the duration of the engagement, and the very advantageous poſition taken by Hyder Ally. This ſecond defeat of this Prince by Sir Eyre Coote, happened on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt.

From the long and vigorous reſiſtance of his troops on this day, and the difficulty with which it was won by the Engliſh, Hyder Ally conceived hopes, that by degrees his people, through frequent encounters of this kind, would attain to an equality of diſcipline and reſolution with them. In this confidence he ventured, ſome weeks after this action, to ſtand another battle; but he was defeated with greater loſs than in the former.

Undiſcouraged by this want of ſucceſs, Hyder Ally inveſted a place of great ſtrength and importance, called Vellore, and expecting that the relief of it would he attempted, ſeized an advantageous paſs through which he knew the Britiſh troops muſt take their way. Sir Eyre Coote advanced accordingly with that intent, and found Hyder Ally's army in poſſeſſion of ſome very ſtrong grounds on both the ſides of a marſh, which he was obliged to croſs. The numbers of the enemy enabled them to attack him on every part; but it was

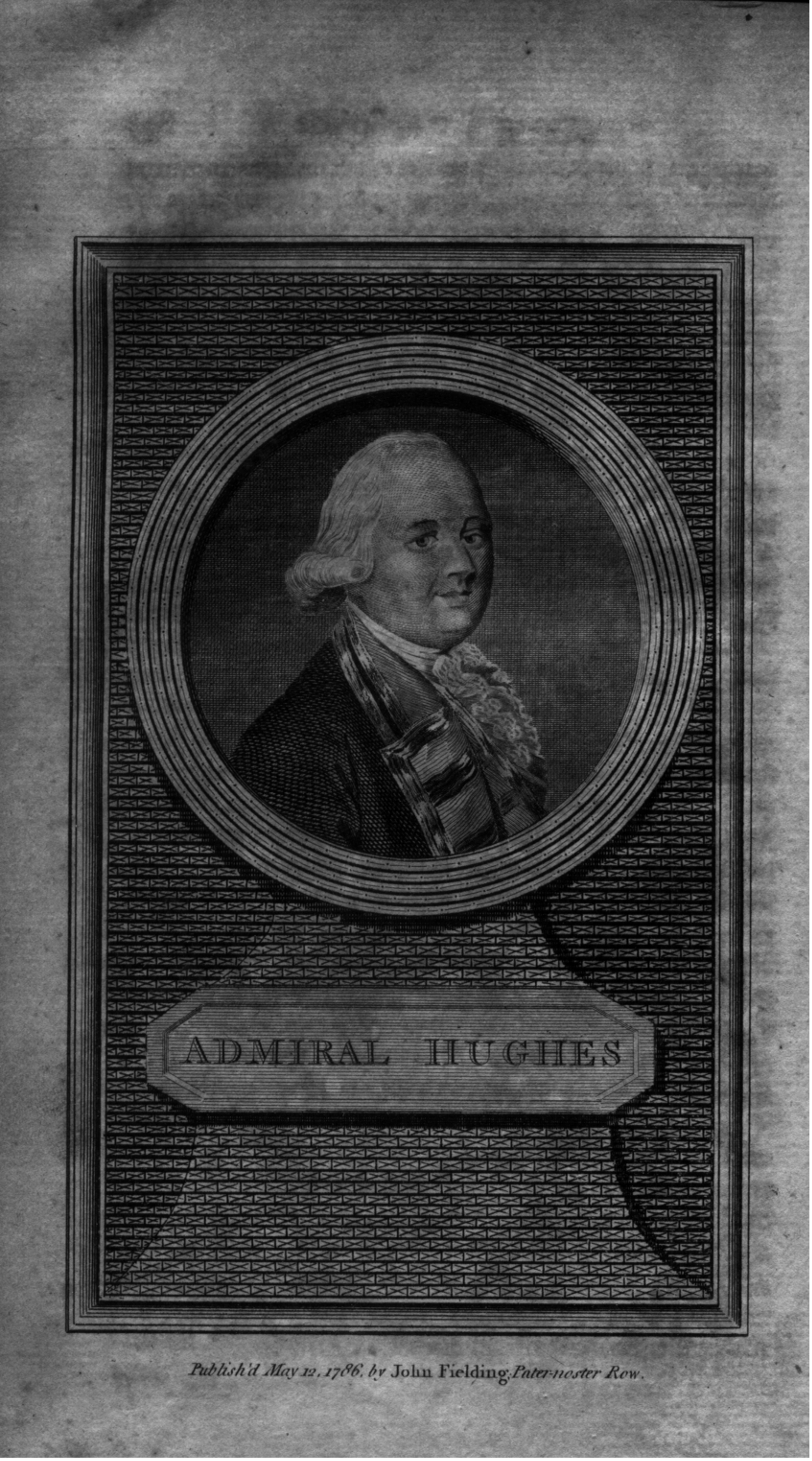
principally his rear againſt which their chief efforts were directed. Here were the baggage and convoy of proviſions deſtined for the beſieged, who were now reduced to the greateſt extremity. By ſeizing theſe, both the Britiſh army and garriſon would have been equally diſtreſt.

Hyder Ally exerted all his activity to accompliſh theſe purpoſes; but the ſpirit of the Britiſh troops was ſuch, that they extricated themſelves completely from this dangerous paſs, and forced their way to Vellore in deſpite of all obſtructions.

Notwithſtanding this failure, Hyder Ally ſtill reſolved upon another trial. Diſpoſing his army in the ſame manner as before, he waited the return of the Britiſh troops on the ſame ſpot. His attack was conducted with great ſkill and vigour: their flanks and front were aſſailed at once; and a heavy cannonade maintained during the whole action. It laſted a great part of the afternoon; but terminated with his intire defeat, and with the loſs of numbers of his ſelecteſt men.

Theſe uninterrupted ſucceſſes of the Britiſh troops in the Carnatic, were attended with the moſt fortunate conſequences to the intereſt of the Eaſt India Company. Among others, it enabled the Preſidency at Madras, on receiving intelligence of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, to undertake an expedition againſt the principal Dutch ſettlement on the coaſt of Coromandel.

This was the important town and harbour of Negapatam, ſituated to the ſouth of Madras, in the heighbourhood of Tanjour. The danger of its becoming a place of arms for Hyder Ally, and his French allies, were it to remain in the hands of the Dutch, now become enemies to Britain, was too obvious not to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them of it, as ſoon as poſſible, at the preſent juncture.



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The charge of carrying on this important enterprize by land, was committed to Sir Hector Munro, while Sir Edward Hughes ſtationed his ſquadron ſo as to intercept all relief by ſea. This officer had already given a ſevere check to Hyder Ally, on the coaſt of Malabar. That Prince had expended vaſt ſums, and beſtowed immenſe care and labour in the improvement of his two ſeaports of Calicut and Mangalore in that country. They were his naval arſenals, and contained a conſiderable number of ſhips of force; but they were all deſtroyed by Sir Edward Hughes, to the great vexation of Hyder Ally, who had projected the deſign of rendering himſelf no leſs powerful in India by ſea, than he was at land.

The undertaking againſt Negapatam was, however, accompanied with a variety of impediments. The neceſſity of continually reinforcing the army that was acting in the field againg Hyder Ally, had ſo drained the different garriſons, that a very inconſiderable force could be ſpared to Sir Hector Munro, for the ſervice propoſed. Negapatam was in a ſtrong ſtate of defence, from the fortifications that had lately been added to it; and Hyder Ally, foreſeeing that it would in all probability be attacked by the Engliſh, had diſpatched a large body of infantry and cavalry to ſtrengthen the garriſon. It conſiſted, with theſe reinforcements, of more than eight thouſand men, while the number of the beſiegers did not amount to five thouſand.

After landing the battering cannon from the ſhips, which was a work of great danger and difficulty, from the roughneſs of the ſea, an attack was made on the lines and redoubts, which the beſieged had conſtructed in the avenues to the town. The ſeamen that were employed upon this occaſion, aſſailed them with ſuch violence and fury, that the enemy could not withſtand them an inſtant. The diſ-

poſitions that had been made for a defence, were very judicious. An intermixture of horſe and foot guarded the lines: had the aſſailants given way, their total defeat muſt have enſued from the purſuit and execution to which they would have been expoſed. But ſo great was the pannic with which the valour of the Britiſh ſeamen ſtruck the whole garriſon, that the foot ran immediately for ſhelter in the town, and Hyder Ally's horſe fled on the firſt onſet into the adjacent country; from whence they were either unable or unwilling to return into the town.

Five days after ſtorming the lines, regular approaches were made, and a formidable battery erected; againſt which the garriſon directed two ſallies with all their remaining force; but they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Another battery being conſtructed, the fire from both operated ſo effectually, that a breach was ſoon made, and followed by a preparation for an aſſault. The Dutch Governor propoſed hereupon to ſurrender on capitulation. The terms granted to him were, that private property excepted, the town and its dependencies, with whatever appertained to the Dutch government and Company, ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh: the garriſon to remain priſoners of war, and the Governor and officers in the civil or military departments to be at large on their parole.

The reduction of Negapatam completed the revolution that had begun to take place in the ſouthern provinces on the coaſt of Coromandel. It not only reſtored the power and influence of the Eaſt India Company in thoſe parts, but it raiſed the reputation and dread of the Britiſh arms higher than ever. They had, in the courſe of this campaign, triumphed ſucceſſively over Hyder Ally, the French, and the Dutch, united together for their humiliation, and confidently preſuming to reduce them to the

neceſſity of yielding to the ſuperiority with which they were aſſailed in every quarter.

The univerſal failure of every attempt againſt the Engliſh, and the continual good fortune that had attended them this year, made ſuch an impreſſion on many of the Indian princes and chiefs, that had ſubmitted to Hyder Ally from fear, or embraced his party from intereſt, that they now earneſtly ſought for reconciliation with the Engliſh. They now conſidered them as fully re-eſtabliſhed on their former footing of ſtrength, and bidding fair to confirm and increaſe it beyond a probability of being ſhaken.

Hyder Ally himſelf was equally aſtoniſhed and ſtung with grief at this unexpected return of proſperity to a people, whoſe greatneſs he had lately been perſuaded was faſt declining, and whom, he doubted not, he ſhould be the principal inſtrument in bringing to ruin and expelling from India. He now ſaw his garriſons compelled to evacuate the greateſt number of thoſe places they had occupied in the foregoing campaigns in the rich and important diſtrict of Tanjour and its environs. Theſe diſappointments ſunk deeply into his aſpiring and ambitious mind; and though his ſpirit was too great to admit of deſpondency, yet he could not fail being powerfully affected by this ſudden reverſe of fortune.

CHAP. LXIV.

Proceedings in Parliament.—Change of Miniſtry.

1781—1782.

THE diſaſter that had befallen the Britiſh arms in America, had cloſed the campaign in a manner that ſeemed to put an end to all further hopes of reducing that continent. The force that remained, was totally inadequate to ſuch enterprizes as would now be neceſſary to reſtore the fortune of the war, and replace the intereſt of Britain on its former footing. The Americans now conſidered themſelves as wholly freed from all apprehenſions; and looked upon that event as an epocha from whence they might confidently date the certainty and final confirmation of their independence.

This was not only their own perſuaſion; but that of all Europe. As ſoon as the news of the capitulation at York Town arrived in England, a total ceſſation of hoſtilities in America, became the earneſt wiſh of all parties. Thoſe who had been ſtrenuous advocates for their proſecution, were now convinced that this laſt misfortune was irreparable, and that it ought to be viewed in the light of an ultimate deciſion of the American conteſt.

Such was the general temper of the nation when the Parliament met on the twenty-ſeventh of November. The members in oppoſition were loud and vehement in the opinion, that an immediate period ſhould be put to an altercation that had now laſted ſeven years to no other purpoſe than to drain the nation of its treaſure, and its beſt blood, without attaining any of the ends propoſed, and to involve it in a war with all the powers in Europe:

who either openly or clandeſtinely were known to abet the Americans, and to exert themſelves with their utmoſt induſtry for the defeating of the endeavours of Britain to ſubjugate her refractory Colonies.

Mr. Fox, upon this occaſion, went copiouſly and forcibly into the neceſſity of acting coolly and diſpaſſionately on ſo aweful a juncture as the preſent. Surrounded with dangers of the firſt magnitude; oppoſed in a manner by the whole world, it was vain to contend againſt a force which was daily increaſing, and againſt which all the efforts of this country, however great and ſurpriſing, could not be ſuppoſed, in the nature of things, able to make a ſucceſsful ſtand.

He entered into a long inveſtigation of the ſtate and reſources of the kingdom, and arraigned with extreme bitterneſs the conduct of thoſe who preſided in the different departments of Adminiſtration, the naval one eſpecially. He appealed to the conviction of the Houſe, whether any probability ſubſiſted of carrying on the war with any proſpect of ſucceſs, while ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances attended its proſecution.

It had been recommended in the royal ſpeech, on the opening of the ſeſſion, to act with vigour and undauntedneſs in the preſent criſis, and firmly to continue facing the enemy with unabated exertions. —A debate aroſe on the meaning of the ſpeech. Oppoſition alleged, that it was highly improper to concur in any addreſs importing a continuation of the American war, on the plan according to which it had hitherto been conducted. Adminiſtration denied, on the other hand, that the addreſs they had moved, intended any more than a reſolute maintenance of the national honour and intereſt, againſt the numerous enemies of Britain. After a long altercation on this ſubject, the addreſs was

carried by two hundred and eighteen, againſt one hundred and twenty-nine.

Oppoſition was however determined to conſtrain Miniſtry to be full and explicit on this ſubject. When a motion was made for the cuſtomary Committee of Supply, a warm objection took place to the Speaker's leaving the Chair. It was inſiſted that no further confidence could be placed in Adminiſtration, till it had pledged itſelf for a change of thoſe meaſures, which had brought the nation into its preſent difficulties. The Houſe could not, with any propriety, nor without derogating from its dignity, and abandoning the cauſe of its conſtituents, implicitly continue to truſt the management of affairs to men, under whom they had been ſo unproſperous. The voice of the public was unanimous in demanding an alteration of the ruinous ſyſtem hitherto purſued. It behoved Parliament to liſten ſeriouſly to the complaints of the people, after ſo many proofs that they were well founded. As they bore the weight of the diſtreſſes occaſioned by this unfortunate war, they had juſt reaſon to reprobate it, and to petition for its ſpeedy termination.

Adminiſtration repreſented on the other ſide, the danger that might attend the refuſal of a ſupply in the preſent critical poſture of affairs. In whatever manner the money granted would be applied, ſtill the granting of it ought not to be delayed, as it would certainly be wanted for the moſt indiſpenſible purpoſes. The queſtion, whether it ſhould be appropriated to the proſecution of thoſe meaſures, which were contradictory to the opinion of oppoſition, would be agitated in due time, but ought not to be brought fotward till proviſion had been made for the expences, that would inevitably be required for the ſervice of the public. The danger it was

an unanimous ſupport of its whole ſtrength by land and ſea. When the ſum neceſſary for this eſſential object had been voted, and the ſafety of the realm thereby been properly conſulted, the Houſe would be at leiſure to deliberate upon the manner of proſecuting the war to the beſt advantage.

Oppoſition, it was inſinuated by Miniſtry, by requiring an aſſurance that a ceſſation of hoſtilities againſt America ſhould take place, meant at the ſame time that a change of Adminiſtration ſhould accompany it; but whether this expectation was complied with, or diſappointed, it was equally for the benefit of the public, that the requiſite ſupplies ſhould be granted, whoever might have the management of them in future.

A variety of collateral matter aroſe from the diſcuſſion of this ſubject. The right of the people to refuſe ſupplies, until the redreſs of grievances, was argued with much energy; and the inexpediency of withholding them in caſes where the ſecurity of the realm was at ſtake, was repreſented in no leſs a forcible light. After an ample and animated debate on theſe ſubjects, the motion for a Committee of Supply was carried in the affirmative, by one hundred and ſeventy-two againſt ſeventy-ſeven.

When the queſtion was agitated for voting the ſpecific ſupplies, that would be requiſite for the ſervice of the coming year, it was moved by Oppoſition, that the war carried on in America, had been ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it had been undertaken. It had neither defeated the intentions of thoſe who reſiſted the authority of Great Britain, nor afforded protection to thoſe who remained loyal. All further attempts to reduce the Americans by force of arms, would therefore be uſeleſs and injurious to the intereſts of Britain, by diſabling her to reſiſt the confederacy formed by her ancient and natural enemies.

To this motion, which was ſeconded with great eloquence and ability by the ſpeakers on the ſide of Oppoſition, Adminiſtration replied, that it was no longer intended to proſecute hoſtilities in America on the former plan, and that another ſyſtem would now be adopted in that reſpect; but that nevertheleſs, the motion now before the Houſe, was highly unſeaſonable, as it laid open to the enemy the intentions of the Britiſh government, and taught them how to defeat the plans that were to be adopted againſt them. It was inconſiſtent with common prudence to deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt the Americans. They were bound by their alliance with France to aſſiſt it againſt Great Britain, and would therefore act in conformity to their treaties. Such being the caſe, it was incumbent on government to adopt thoſe meaſures that would of courſe be neceſſary to counteract them. It could not, therefore, be expected, and ought not to be required, that America ſhould be totally relinquiſhed. Were Britain to withdraw her fleets and armies from that Continent, Congreſs would be at liberty to purſue a line of hoſtilities extremely pernicious to this country. Were the Americans to become maſters of their ports, the ſeas in that quarter, and in the Weſt Indies, would ſwarm with their privateers, and they would have it in their power effectually to aſſiſt France and Spain in their deſigned invaſion of our iſlands. An abandonment of North America ſhould not, for theſe reaſons, make any part of the preſent plan of acting, as it would enable and embolden the Coloniſts to exert themſelves to our detriment. The wiſeſt method would be to ſteer a middle courſe. We ought to maintain with vigour the poſſeſſion of what remained in our hands, and keep a watchful eye on all their motions. This would confine their views at home, and teach them

ſtill to view us in the light of an imminent and formidable enemy.

After a long and intereſting diſcuſſion of this matter, which laſted till two o'clock in the morning, the motion made by Oppoſition, was rejected by a diviſion of two hundred and twenty, to one hundred and ſeventy-nine.

When the eſtimates of the army were laid before the Houſe, the foregoing debates were renewed with uncommon vehemence. Oppoſition took ſevere notice of the uncertainty and diſunion that reigned among the Members of Government; and what little reliance could be placed on the meaſures, they pretended to have in contemplation, from the inconſiſtency and contradiction of the language held among them.

The ſame notice was taken by the public; all orders of men began now to reprobate, with unreſtrained freedom, any intentions to proſecute the war with America, and to expreſs the moſt fervent wiſhes that an accommodation ſhould take place with the Colonies without any further procraſtination.

On the meeting of Parliament after the receſs that cloſed the year eighty-one, a variety of queſtions, originating from the American war, ſome of them of the higheſt importance to the public, were brought into agitation, and canvaſſed with a degree of animation, that deeply engaged the attention of all parties.

One of the moſt intereſting was the enquiry into the conduct of the naval department, which was moved by Mr. Fox, and ſupported by him with great eloquence and energy of reaſoning. His principal antagoniſt on this occaſion, was Lord Mulcaſter, who oppoſed him with remarkable ingenuity of argument. Lord Howe diſtinguiſhed himſelf eminently in this day's debate, by the profeſſional

knowledge he diſplayed on the ſubject in litigation.

The conteſt was at length decided, after having produced a multitude of arguments on each ſide, by the rejection of the motion propoſed. One hundred and eighty-three voted for it; two hundred and five againſt it.

The advancement of Lord George Germaine to that Peerage, was another ground of contention. It was warmly oppoſed in the Houſe of Lords, where the part he had taken in the American war, expoſed him to the heavy cenſure of Oppoſition on a variety of accounts. The queſtion was, however, carried in his favour, by ninety-three votes to twenty-eight.

In the mean time, as adminiſtration ſeemed yet to heſitate about the mode that ſhould be adopted with reſpect to the future proſecution of the war in America, oppoſition reſolved to make as powerful an effort as poſſible to conſtrain them to abandon it. To this intent, a motion was made by Genetal Conway, for an addreſs to the throne, requeſting that a final termination might be put to hoſtilities in America, and that a reconciliation might no longer be deferred.

This motion rouſed all the powers of both parties. All the arguments that had already been adduced on this topic were now repeated. It appeared in the cloſe of this important debate, that the ſtrength of miniſtry was on its downfal. The addreſs was negatived by the mere majority of one; one hundred and ninety-three appearing for it, and one hundred and ninety-four againſt it. This happened on the twenty-ſecond of February, eighty-two.

In full confidence of obtaining a decided majority, General Conway renewed his motion five days after. He made a very animated ſpeech on the oc-

caſion, wherein he alledged a multiplicity of facts in contradiction to what had been urged on the other ſide againſt the competency of Parliament to interfere, by giving its advice to the Crown in matters relating to the making of peace or war, and in the framing of alliances and treaties with foreign powers.

Among other arguments that were brought to ſhow the prodigious diſadvantage attending an American war, it was aſſerted, that upon the cleareſt computation, France expended no more than forty pounds ſterling for every man ſhe had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Americans, while Great Britain paid no leſs than one hundred. This alarming difference was enhanced to a degree truly terrifying, when the diſparity of the numbers maintained by the two contending kingdoms was taken into conſideration. At the time of the reduction of the army under Lord Cornwallis, the period at which the French troops were moſt numerous in America, they amounted to no more than eight thouſand men, and at other times had not exceeded five; while the Britiſh forces on that eſtabliſhment had been paid for at the rate of ſeventy thouſand.

The reply of miniſtry was equally ſtrong and copious. The meaſures in contemplation with regard to America, were repreſented as founded on the moſt obvious expediency. While the Colonies continued at war with this country, it would be highly imprudent to act as if we were at peace with them. It would betray a timorouſneſs and fear of offending them, unworthy of the character of the Britiſh nation. It would expoſe us to their ſlight: and inſtead of accelerating the work of peace, would incline them to treat us with haughtineſs, and to aſſume a ſtile of ſuperiority, which would naturally tend to throw obſtructions in the

way of the reconciliation that was ſo much deſired by all parties.

Such, it was ſaid, ought henceforth to be the plan of acting with the Americans, as to convince them that though the Britiſh nation was willing to be reconciled with the Colonies, yet it was fully determined not to degrade itſelf by any mean obſequiouſneſs; but, on the contrary, to hold out terms entirely compatible with its honour, as well as advantageous to them; and, in the mean time, to preſerve a firm and reſolute countenance, equally removed from haughtineſs or timidity.

The concluſion of the miniſter's ſpeech upon this occaſion was remarkably ſtriking and ſpirited.—"If oppoſition," ſaid he, "had reſolved that no more confidence ſhould be placed in the preſent adminiſtration, the readieſt way to carry their point would be to addreſs the Crown for their removal. Were he once convinced that he had loſt the confidence of the Houſe, he ſhould think it his duty to wait upon his Sovereign, and ſay to him—"Sir, "I have long ſerved you with diligence, with zeal, "and with fidelity; but ſucceſs has not crowned "my endeavours. Your Parliament have with-"drawn from me their confidence; all my decla-"rations to them are ſuſpected: therefore, Sir, "let me reſign to you thoſe employments which "I ought not to keep longer than I can be ſer-"viceable to your Majeſty, and your ſubjects."

Theſe expreſſions and ſentiments were greatly taken notice of by the public; they were allowed to be truly conſtitutional, and ſuch as every miniſter ſhould look up to as the rule of his conduct. Whatever diverſity of opinions had been held concerning the adminiſtration of Lord North, all parties agreed in declaring their approbation and applauſe of the manlineſs and candour he had diſplayed on this day.

An endeavour was made, grounded on the importance of the ſubject in queſtion, to adjourn the debate to another day, in order that leiſure might be afforded for every member to give it a cool and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation. This, together with other reaſons, was aſſigned for propoſing the delay. but this motion was over-ruled by a majority of nineteen, the votes for it being two hundred and ſixteen, thoſe againſt it two hundred and thirty-five.

The original motion of General Conway for an Addreſs to the Crown, againſt the further continuance of the American war, was then carried without a diviſion; and it was reſolved that the addreſs ſhould be preſented by the whole Houſe. This total defeat of Miniſtry took place on the twenty-ſeventh of February.

The anſwer received from the throne to the addreſs, was, that in purſuance to the advice of the Houſe, meaſures would be taken conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and her colonies: that in the mean time the ſtrength of the nation ſhould be directed in the moſt effectual manner againſt our European enemies, till ſuch a peace could be obtained, as ſhould conſiſt with the intereſt and permanent welfare of the kingdom.

In conſequence of the ſuperiority obtained by oppoſition, General Conway proceeded to move, that the Houſe would conſider as enemies to their ſovereign and country, whoever ſhould adviſe or attempt the proſecution of offenſive meaſures in America, for the purpoſe of ſubduing the colonies.

The inducement aſſigned for this motion was, that Miniſtry, though it complied with the will of the majority in that Houſe, yet acknowledged that they acted againſt their own ſenſe of the meaſures to which they ſubmitted; they could not, there-

fore be too ſtrongly bound to an obedience, which they paid in contradiction to their judgment.

The Miniſterial ſtrength was now ſo conſiderably impaired, that hardly any oppoſition was made to this motion, which was carried without a diviſion.

As notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes gained over Miniſtry, no diſmiſſion of it appeared to be in agitation, their opponents determined that ſuch a condemnation ſhould be pronounced upon their paſt meaſures, as ſhould at once preclude all attempts to renew them. In this view the ſubſequent reſolutions were laid before the Houſe for its approbation.

That ſince the year ſeventy five, upwards of one hundred millions had been expended on the army and navy, in the preſent fruitleſs war.

That during this period Great Britain had loſt thirteen colonies in America, and ſeveral valuable iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and that thoſe ſtill remaining in her poſſeſſion were in imminent danger.

That the nation was now engaged in an expenſive war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, without a ſingle ally.

That the chief cauſe of all theſe misfortunes had been the want of foreſight and abilities of perſons in adminiſtration.

The moving of theſe reſolutions occaſioned one of the warmeſt and moſt acrimonious debates that ever happened in the houſe of Commons. The three firſt reſolutions was ſelf-evident, but the fourth admitted of ſo much diſcuſſion, that it employed all the acuteneſs of which both parties were maſters, to ſupport their reſpective opinions and aſſertions on this matter.

The obvious intention of the Oppoſition being, however, to remove the preſent Miniſtry, much of the altercation hinged upon this ſubject. The Houſe was called upon by Miniſters to weigh with

candour and impartiality the merits of thoſe who were known to be the moſt likely to ſucceed them. Would it conſent to the meaſures they had ſo often avowed, and ſo ſtrongly recommended? Would it acknowledge the independence of America, and adopt thoſe many alterations at home that were to give a new face to the conſtitution and government of this country?

Much had oppoſition complained of the diſunion and diſcord that ſubſiſted between the members of adminiſtration; but was there more harmony among thoſe of the adverſe party? Did they not moſt widely differ in their political ſentiments, or did they agree in any thing except in oppoſing Miniſtry?

The reply to theſe charges was equally ſevere. The conſtant unaltered ſeries of diſappointments that had attended every miniſterial meaſure ſince the commencement of the American diſpute, was held out as an unanſwerable proof that their ſyſtem was founded in error: but their inflexible adherence to it, after repeated admonitions and experience of its inefficacy, rendered them unpardonable; it was adding obſtinacy to incapacity, and ſhewed them to be abſolutely incorrigible.

A variety of taunts and perſonalities took place in the courſe of this debate, which laſted till two o'clock in the morning, when the reſolutions were ſet aſide by a motion for the order of the day, which was carried in favour of miniſtry.

Notwithſtanding the framing of a new miniſtry was looked upon as a matter of propriety, amidſt the diſcontents univerſally prevailing, yet the generality of people were deſirous of a coalition among all parties, and that no particular ſet of men ſhould ingroſs all power to themſelves. This was eſpecially the wiſh of thoſe who were conſidered as the independent part of the Houſe.

In

In the diſputes that aroſe on this topic, Lord North conducted himſelf with remarkable temper and moderation. He concluded an eloquent and elaborate defence of his adminiſtration, by declaring, "That he neither was, nor would be any obſtacle "to a coalition of parties, or to the formation of a "new miniſtry, from which he might even be to-"tally excluded."

It was moved, on the other hand, by Oppoſition, in the moſt reſolute and peremptory manner, that no further truſt ſhould be repoſed in the preſent members of adminiſtration.

Never had the Houſe of Commons been ſo full during the courſe of many years as on the debating of this intereſting queſtion; no leſs than four hundred and eighty members were preſent. After a violent conteſt it was rejected by a majority of nine only.

So inconſiderable a majority on a queſtion of ſuch magnitude, and wherein the miniſters were ſo directly and perſonally attacked, was like a ſignal to renew the charge againſt them. Notice was given accordingly that the motion would be repeated.

On the twentieth of March the Houſe being met, and oppoſition preparing to renew it, Lord North informed the members that ſuch a motion was become unneceſſary, as the adminiſtration, againſt which it was levelled, did no longer exiſt, the King having determined to change it. He moved in conſequence for an adjournment, that leiſure might be given for the formation of a new one.

After obtaining the Houſe's compliance with this motion, he took a ſolemn leave of it in quality of miniſter. His ſpeech on this occaſion was equally decent and pathetic, and highly approved of by his audience. He concluded it by ſignifying, that he was both ready and deſirous to encounter the ſtricteſt trial of his conduct.

The miniſtry ſubſtituted in the place of that of which Lord North had ſo long been the head, was compoſed of the Marquis of Rockingham, Firſt Lord of the Treaſury; Lord Shelburne, and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Camden, Preſident of the Council; the Duke of Grafton, Privy Seal; Lord John Cavendiſh, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Admiral Keppel, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; General Conway, Commander in Chief of the Forces; the Duke of Richmond, Maſter-General of the Ordnance.

Two peerages were created on this occaſion:—One in favour of Admiral Keppel, who was raiſed to the title of Viſcount; the other in favour of Mr. Dunning, who was made a Baron, by the name of Lord Aſhburton. The dignity of High Chancellor ſtill remained with its preſent poſſeſſor, Lord Thurlow, whoſe uncommon influence and abilities had ſecured him the reſpect of both parties.

The firſt ſtep of public conſequence taken by the new miniſtry, was to remove the cauſe of thoſe jealouſies that had ſo long ſubſiſted in Ireland, by procuring the repeal of ſuch acts as were moſt obnoxious and oppreſſive to that kingdom. The conſequence of this meaſure was an immediate vote of the Iriſh Parliament for the raiſing of twenty thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the Britiſh navy.

The next ſtep was to diſqualify revenue officers from voting at parliamentary elections, and to render contractors incapable of poſſeſſing a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. Theſe three acts were extremely acceptable to the public.

Mr. Burke, who had in this change of adminiſtration been appointed Pay Maſter General of the forces, now reſumed the plan he had propoſed for the regulation of the Civil Liſt; a number of ſinecure places were thereby aboliſhed, and a conſider-

able ſum was ſaved, which had heretofore been employed as the means of improper influence.

He gave, at the ſame time, a ſignal proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, by the reform he introduced into the office he poſſeſſed. It had been juſtly deemed the moſt lucrative in the kingdom; but he reduced it within reaſonable bounds, by retrenching the enormous profits which had hitherto attended it.

Another popular act was, the reſcinding from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, the reſolution paſſed in the year ſixty-nine, regarding the election of Mr. Wilkes to repreſent the county of Middleſex. That gentleman had laboured for years to compaſs this point; but his annual efforts to this porpoſe had been ſucceſſively defeated till the preſent period, when his motion to this intent met at length with the completeſt ſucceſs. It was carried by one hundred aud fifteen votes againſt forty-ſeven.

The endeavours of Mr. William Pitt, to bring about a Reform in the Conſtitution of Parliament, did not however meet with the reception which the majority of the public had ſo ardently deſired, and which many ſo confidently expected. In order to qualify a ſubject, wherein ſo much caution was neceſſary, and to reconcile the views of all who were intereſted in this matter, he moved, "That a Committee ſhould be appointed, to inquire into the "ſtate of the Repreſentation in Parliament, and to "report their ſentiments upon it." He ſeconded his motion with great accuracy and ſtrength of reaſoning, and was ably ſupported by Sir George Savile, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sawbridge, and ſeveral others: but on a diviſion, the motion was negatived by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-one, to one hundred and forty-one.

Various other deſigns were in agitation for the ſervice of the public, when they were interrupted

by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham on the firſt of July. This event occaſioned a variety of reſignations and new arrangements. Lord Shelburne ſucceeded him at the Treaſury Board, Lord Grantham and Mr. Thomas Townſhend were appointed Secretaries of State, and Mr. William Pitt was raiſed to the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer.

Much variance and altercation aroſe in both Houſes of Parliament in conſequence of theſe appointments. Mr. Fox was heavily cenſured for having withdrawn himſelf from the ſervice of the public, at a time when his abilities might have been ſo uſeful. It was inſinuated that private pique had influenced his conduct, and that he had retired from Adminiſtration on account of its not ſubmitting to his directions.

His anſwer to theſe charges was, that it did not become a man of integrity to remain in place with thoſe of whom he diſapproved the meaſures. He was preciſely in that ſituation. He was not the only perſon, however, who differed from thoſe who ſtill retained their places. Thoſe who had ſeceded with him, were men of unimpeachable character, as well as unqueſtionable abilities. His ambition was to merit the approbation of the public; this was the higheſt ſummit of his wiſhes; but ſooner than coincide with opinions which he condemned, he would relinquiſh any poſt, however it might exalt him in the eyes of the multitude. He aſſerted, that before the demiſe of Lord Rockingham, he had openly ſignified his determination of reſigning, if he could not prevail on the Cabinet to follow certain meaſures which he deemed indiſpenſible in the preſent juncture. Theſe meaſures being refuſed, and others adopted, which, in his judgment, were incompatible with the true intereſt of the public, he conſidered himſelf as bound by

all the rules of honour, and the principles he profeſſed, and had ſo zealouſly recommended upon former occaſions, to decline acting any longer with men, whoſe maxims and meaſures he could not bring himſelf to approve.

In the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne defended with great ability the ſyſtem he had adopted, as well as the arrangements that had lately been taken. He ſtrongly expreſſed himſelf firmly attached to the principles on which that miniſtry had been formed, at the head of which Lord Rockingham had preſided. But he could not yield himſelf implicitly to the guidance of any man.—He had been taught by the great Lord Chatham, that no faction ought to be ſuffered to rule in this country: much leſs ought any individual to be permitted to dictate.

Theſe unhappy variances among thoſe who were conſidered as the moſt popular perſons in the kingdom, rendered the death of the Marquis of Rockingham an object of great lamentation to the majority of people. His perſonal character, and the extenſive influence he poſſeſſed, gave him a weight which kept on a due poiſe the jars and bickerings of the party of which he was the leader. Deprived of the chief who held them together, it was not ſurpriſing that they ſhould become diſunited, and differ about thoſe queſtions which his authority, and the deference that was paid to his opinions had alone been able to decide.

Theſe differences happening on the cloſe of the ſeſſion, preſaged in the minds of many, a material alteration in the meaſures that would be uppermoſt in that which would enſue next winter. The leiſure that would be afforded by the length of the receſs, would, in their apprehenſion, be productive of opportunities to work a change in the diſpoſition of men, and overſet thoſe reſolutions and deſigns which

CHAP. LXV.

Loſs of Minorca—Statia—and St. Chriſtopher.—Victory obtained by Admiral Rodney over the French Fleet in the Weſt-Indies.

1782.

THE ſieges of Gibraltar and Minorca were ſtill carried on by the united forces of the Houſe of Bourbon, with the utmoſt ſpirit and activity, and both places defended with unabated firmneſs and obſtinacy by their reſpective garriſons. But Minorca was evidently in the greateſt danger, from the facility with which the enemy could provide reinforcements and ſupplies, and the difficulty of conveying any relief to the beſieged.

The Courts of Verſailles and Madrid, however they might conſider the reduction of Gibraltar as dubious, entertained no doubt of being able to reduce Minorca. In order to juſtify the expectation of both the French and Spaniſh nations, every poſſible meaſure was taken to give ſucceſs to this enterpriſe. The army that beſieged the place was little ſhort of twenty thouſand men, and conſiſted of choſen troops. The battering train was prodigious, amounting to near one hundred and twenty cannon, and forty mortar pieces of the largeſt dimenſions. The moſt expert engineers in France conducted the attacks, and one of their beſt and braveſt Generals commanded their army.

The garriſon amounted, on the other hand, to no more than two thouſand ſeven hundred men; five hundred of theſe had been drafted from the corps of invalids in England, and ſent to this iſland ſeven years before.

The ſtrength of the works they had to defend was remarkable. The approaches to the fortreſs were every where undermined, and the conſtructions to cover them within were bomb-proof. But all theſe were ſo ſpacious, and in ſuch number, that twice the garriſon they now contained would not have ſufficed to man them.

The commencement of the ſiege was marked by an incident highly honourable to General Murray, the Governor. Impatient to have poſſeſſion of this important fortreſs, the Court of Spain endeavoured, through the offer of an immenſe bribe, to corrupt that officer's fidelity. The anſwer he returned to the Duke of Crillon, who had been commiſſioned to make this trial, was ſtriking. He gave him to underſtand, that when the moſt illuſtrious of his anceſtors had been tempted by his ſovereign to aſſaſſinate his refractory and rebellious ſubject, the Duke of Guiſe, he nobly diſdained ſuch an office; and that he himſelf ſhould, after this precedent, have refuſed to attempt the ſeduction of a man of honour.

From the landing of the enemy in Auguſt, to the beginning of November, no material event took place; the fire, though ſpirited on both ſides, doing no conſiderable damage, and the beſiegers being chiefly occupied in conſtructing their heavier batteries, and preparing to make their cloſer approaches. About this time a ſally was made on the Duke of Crillon's head-quarters, with ſo much vigour, and was ſo judiciouſly conducted, that he was compelled to abandon them, with the loſs of a number of priſoners. The whole army of the beſiegers was brought forward on this occaſion to diſlodge the Britiſh troops; but their diſpoſition and countenance were ſuch, that the Duke did not think proper to attack them; and they had the honour of

maintaining the poſt they had ſeized during a whole day, and of retiring unmoleſted.

The batteries of cannon erected by the enemy, tho' ſerved with great courage and expertneſs, had not hitherto done any eſſential execution. They had now lain upwards of three months before the place; and it was expected, both in France and Spain, that they would have maſtered it before this time, with ſo many advantages on their ſide. It was not, however, ſooner than this period that they had perfected their batteries of mortar-pieces, and began to open them.

The fire of the beſieged had during this time been kept up with a vivacity, which had much retarded the works of the enemy. As ſoon as their bomb-batteries were conſtructed, the garriſon directed their efforts chiefly to the deſtruction of theſe. Their ſhells frequently fell upon the enemy's magazines of gunpowder, and blew them up with a conſiderable deſtruction of their people; nor did their ſhipping eſcape, ſeveral of their veſſels being ſunk, or ſet on fire, by the cannon or bombs from the garriſon.

But notwithſtanding the reſolution and ſkill diſplayed by the beſieged, the ſuperiority they had to contend with, in reſpect to artillery and numbers, was ſo great, that they alone were ſufficient to put their fortitude to the utmoſt trial.

It has, however, by adequate and impartial judges been aſſerted, that had no other cauſes intervened, the ſiege of Minorca would have terminated as glorioufly as that of Gibraltar, and the enemy been obliged to relinquiſh the attempt.

But while the French and Spaniſh army were inveſting it from without, a far more dreadful and dangerous enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the place within, and committed ſuch ravages among the

beſieged, as were much more deſtructive than thoſe they ſuffered from the exertions of the enemy.

The communication with the country being entirely cut off, no ſupplies of vegetables could be conveyed to the garriſon. They were reduced to the neceſſity of ſubſiſting on ſalt proviſions. Tho' they were furniſhed with theſe, and with all ſuch neceſſaries as admit of preſervation, in the greateſt abundance, the want of vegetable food was an evil that proved without a remedy.

Moſt of the troops that compoſed the garriſon, having been long ſtationed in the iſland, had accuſtomed themſelves to a conſtant and regular uſe of vegetable diet. The ſudden deprivation of a ſpecies of food, to which they were become habituated, proved ſuch a ſtroke to their conſtitutions, as they were unable to ſtand. Among other complaints, it produced that moſt terrible and fatal one to men confined in ſhips and garriſons, the ſcurvy. It encreaſed in a ſhort time to ſuch a deplorable degree, as to baffle all endeavours to ſuppreſs or alleviate its effects. They were ſo powerful and rapid, that every day diminiſhed the ſtrength of the garriſon, by the numbers that either fell victims to this ſevere malady, or were diſabled by it from doing duty. What contributed greatly to its progreſs, was the incloſed and narrow ſpace to which they were confined, and the neceſſity to which they were compelled of living in the caſemates, and places under ground, in order to ſhelter themſelves from the dreadful and inceſſant ſhowers of ſhot and ſhells, that fell day and night upon every part of the fortreſs.

This continual fire, under the direction of a numerous and expert body of engineers, could not fail to make an effectual impreſſion on a ſpot of ſo limited an extent. The upper works ſuffered con-

but the reſolution of the beſieged would have ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, had not the terrible calamity that raged within their walls rendered them inſuperable.

In the midſt of this ſevere trial, their conſtancy and perſeverance were invincible. Such was the zeal they felt for the honour of the Britiſh name, to uſe their own expreſſion, that many of the common ſoldiers, though on the point of death, concealed their condition from their officers, in order to have the conſolation, as they ſaid, of expiring upon duty with their arms in their hands.

The ſtate of the garriſon was, in the commencement of February eighty-two, ſo enfeebled, that the whole number able to do duty, amounted to no more than ſix hundred and ſixty; and of theſe, ſcarcely a hundred were untainted with the ſcurvy. From the concurrent teſtimony of the phyſicians and ſurgeons it appeared, that, in a very few days, there might not probably be left a ſingle ſoldier in a condition to bear arms.

In the mean time, the neceſſary guards required four hundred and fifteen men. Hence it was evident, that as they could not be regularly relieved, illneſs and fatigue would ſpeedily overcome them. In this extremity Governor Murray propoſed terms of capitulation, by which the garriſon might be permitted to preſerve their liberty on ſurrendering the place: But the Duke of Crillon informed him, that his orders were to liſten to no capitulation, but under the expreſs condition, that the garriſon ſhould remain priſoners of war.

To ſoften however the rigour of his inſtructions, he allowed them to return to England, on General Murray's engaging, that they ſhould not ſerve again during the war, till regularly exchanged.

Every other conceſſion was granted that could be required or expected. To the

French commander, he ſeemed to feel a peculiar ſatisfaction, in expreſſing the higheſt ſenſe of reſpect for the Governor, and the troops under his command.

In the firſt article of the capitulation General Murray demanded, that as the garriſon muſt ſurrender priſoners, they ſhould be allowed all the honours of war. This, it was added, was not contrary to his inſtructions, and would tend to his glory, as certainly no troops ever gave greater proofs of heroiſm, having defended themſelves almoſt to the laſt man.

The Duke's anſwer teſtified the readieſt and moſt generous aſſent to the General's aſſertion; and expreſsly ſpecified, "that, in conſideration of the conſtancy and valour, which he and his men had ſhewn in their brave defence, they ſhould receive all the military honours conſiſtent with their ſituation."

On the fifth of February the fortreſs of St. Philip was delivered up to the combined forces of France and Spain. Perhaps, ſays General Murray, in his letter upon this occaſion, a more noble nor tragical ſcene was ſeldom exhibited, than the march of its garriſon through the French and Spaniſh armies. It conſiſted of no more than ſix hundred old decrepid ſoldiers, two hundred ſeamen, one hundred and twenty of the Royal Artillery, and about fifty Corſicans, Greeks, and others. The two armies were drawn up fronting each other, and formed a lane for the garriſon to paſs through, reaching from St. Philip's to George-Town. Here the garriſon laid down their arms, declaring they had ſurrendered them to God alone, and that the conquerors could only boaſt they had taken an hoſpital.

Such was the diſtreſsful figure of the Britiſh

it was ſaid, ſhed tears as they paſſed them. The humanity of the Duke of Crillon, and of his officers, was highly conſpicuous on this occaſion. No kind of relief was left unſought for the aſſiſtance of the ſickly remains of the garriſon. Every poſſible care and attention was paid to them; and they were treated with every mark of reſpect and ſympathy, which could be expected from a generous conqueror.

Thus did the iſland of Minorca return to the dominion of Spain, after it had been in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain, ſince the year ſeventeen hundred and eight, when it was taken by Sir John Leake and General (afterwards Earl) Stanhope, and had, together with Gibraltar, been conſidered as one of the nobleſt trophies, and moſt valuable acquiſitions to Britain, during the triumphant reign of Queen Anne.

The loſs of Minorca in Europe, was accompanied by events of the like nature in other parts, that marked the cloſe of the year eighty-one, and the beginning of eighty-two, as a period highly unpropitious to Britain.

The ſucceſs which the French had met with, during the preceding ſummer, in reducing Tobago, induced them to caſt their eyes on the other Britiſh iſlands in the Indian ſeas, with a view of attacking them at a convenient opportunity. They ſeemed, however, too well guarded at the time to afford them any hope of ſucceeding. The only one upon which, after much conſultation, they ventured to make an attempt, was that of Statia, which had been taken from the Dutch at the commencement of the year, and of which they were informed the garriſon thought itſelf in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity from any enemy, on account of the difficulty of its acceſs.

The

The Marquis de Bouille, upon receiving this information, determined to improve the opportunity it offered of reducing that iſland by ſurpriſe. He ſailed from Martinico at the head of two thouſand men, and arrived in the night of the twenty-ſixth of November, off a landing place at Statia, which was ſo dangerous, that being looked upon as impracticable, it had been neglected and left without a guard. Here, with much toil and exertion, and with the loſs of many boats and people, he found means to ſet aſhore about four or five hundred of his men: But even this effort took up the whole of the night; and the appearance of day put a ſtop to his landing any more. He now ſaw himſelf obliged to take an immediate deciſion, either to ſurrender to the garriſon, or to hazard the attacking it, though almoſt double his numbers. No other choice remained, as all means of retreat were cut off. He took the laſt, and marched with all diligence, in order to ſurpriſe the garriſon, before they ſhould receive any intelligence of an enemy being aſhore.

The place where he landed was ſix miles diſtant from the town and fort; and, in the line of his march, he had a narrow defile to paſs; which, if a few men could have occupied, his whole ſcheme would at once have been fruſtrated. But his good fortune ſerved him ſo effectually, that this important paſs was unguarded. He arrived in time to ſecure it, and inſtantly puſhed forward with all imaginable ſpeed.

A body of Iriſh troops, in the ſervice of France, were the principal actors on this occaſion. They were commanded by Count Dillon, who uſed ſuch diligence, that he arrived at the town before ſix in the morning. A party belonging to the garriſon was at this time exerciſing on the parade. Miſtaking the Iriſh, from the ſimilitude of their uni-

form, for their own people, they ſuffered them to approach ſo near, that the miſtake was not diſcovered till a cloſe diſcharge had been made by the enemy, which killed and wounded many.

The ſuddenneſs of the ſurpriſe throwing them immediately into diſorder, they were totally diſabled from making any reſiſtance. Colonel Cockburn, commanding officer of the garriſon, happening at that inſtant to come upon the parade, was made priſoner. Numbers of the garriſon haſtened in the mean while to the fort, in hope of making an effectual ſtand there againſt the enemy. But the French had already taken poſſeſſion of the gate, and prevented the draw-bridge from being raiſed.—They entered the fort, which being ſurrendered to them by thoſe who had taken ſhelter in it, the remainder of the garriſon, which was diſperſed in various places, when apprized of this, imagined the enemy's ſtrength to be very conſiderable, and too great to be reſiſted. In this perſuaſion, they ſubmitted without further oppoſition.

The manner in which the iſland of Statia was retaken, though it reflected no diſgrace on the valour of the Britiſh troops, could not fail to caſt a ſhade on that military vigilance and circumſpection which had hitherto characteriſed them. Their ſignal deficiency in theſe eſſential requiſites in war, upon this occaſion, expoſed them to univerſal and well merited cenſure.

It was with peculiar ſatisfaction the Marquis of Bouille took this opportunity of ſignaliſing his diſintereſtedneſs in pecuniary matters. Among the ſpoils that fell into his hands, a large ſum of money was claimed by the Britiſh commanding officer, as being his private property: this was generouſly reſtored to him by the Marquis; who cauſed, in the ſame manner, whatever had belonged to Dutch individuals, to be reſerved, in order to be returned to

them, and ſuffered nothing to be ſeized but the produce ariſing from the ſale of the prizes that had been taken by the Engliſh when they captured the iſland.

The opening of the enſuing year was no leſs unfavourable to the Engliſh on the continent of South America: where the ſettlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo, of which they had deprived the Dutch in the beginning of the preceding year, were now retaken by the French.

But theſe ſucceſſes of its ancient enemy, though ſufficiently mortifying to the Britiſh nation, were quickly followed by an attempt of much more importance. The enterpriſing diſpoſition of the Marquis de Bouille, had long turned his views to the ſubjugation of the rich iſland of St. Chriſtopher, once the joint poſſeſſion of both the French and Engliſh, till the victorious arms of the latter expelled the former at the commencement of this preſent century.

Exclufive of the value of this fertile iſle, other motives offered themſelves to the Marquis. He knew that numbers of the inhabitants were highly diſſatisfied at the ſeizure of their property on the taking of Statia from the Dutch. He was alſo well acquainted with their diſapprobation of the general conduct of the Britiſh government, and that many of them did not ſcruple to expreſs the moſt bitter reſentment on theſe various accounts.

Expecting juſtly to meet with little reſiſtance from a diſcontented people, he formed the project of attacking this iſland, while the cauſes of their complaints were ſtill freſh in their remembrance.—Nor was it otherwiſe in a condition for a vigorous defence. The garriſon conſiſted of no more than ſix hundred effective regulars; while the force that was deſtined to attack it amounted to eight thou-

them, and cover the ſiege, was compoſed of thirty-two ſhips of the line, commanded by Count de Graſſe, whom his valour and good fortune in North America, during the preceding campaign, had now rendered a very formidable enemy.

The only place of ſtrength in the iſland was Brimſtone Hill, ſituated on the ſhore, near the town of Sandy Point, which it over-looks and commands. Some fortifications had been lately conſtructed on the ſummit of that hill; but its natural ſtrength was its beſt ſecurity, being of great height, and of ſo difficult an acceſs, from its ſteepneſs, and the ruggedneſs of the paths leading to it, that an aſcent was almoſt impracticable againſt a very moderate force to defend it.

On the landing of the French army, which from the greatneſs of its force could not be prevented, nor even oppoſed with ſafety, General Frazer, the commanding officer, retired to Brimſtone Hill.—The whole of his ſtrength, beſides the regulars above-mentioned, did not exceed four hundred militia, brought to his aſſiſtance by Governor Shirley. But twice the number that compoſed the garriſon would have hardly ſufficed for a proper defence.

The French having made good their landing at Baſſeterre, the principal town in the iſland, advanced immediately to Brimſtone Hill, which they cloſely inveſted on every ſide. The ill fortune of the beſieged was inſtanced upon this occaſion in a moſt remarkable manner. Eight braſs twenty-four pounders, with ſix thouſand balls of correſponding weight, and two large braſs mortars, with fifteen hundred ſhells, had been carried to the bottom of the hill, with an intent to convey them to the ſummit: but through ſome cauſe that never came to light, they were left in that ſituation. When the enemy were landed, it was too late to ſecure them, and they fell into the hands of the French, who

without this unexpected ſupply, would have been greatly retarded in their operations. One of their ſtoreſhips, loaded with the principal materials for a ſiege, had been wrecked on the rocks near the ſhore, and another of equal conſequence, had been captured by the ſquadron under Admiral Hood.

This vigilant and enterpriſing officer lay at this time at Barbadoes, againſt which the French firſt intended to direct their motions, but had been prevented by contrary winds. The moment he was apprized of their deſign upon St. Chriſtopher, he haſted to Antigua, where taking on board all the troops that could be ſpared, he ſteered directly for Baſſeterre, where the French fleet was at anchor, with a determination to attack it, though it conſiſted of thirty-two ſhips of the line, and his own only of twenty-two: but the confidence he repoſed in the capacity and courage of his officers and men, made him overlook all diſadvantages.

Arriving off Nevis on the morning of the twenty-fourth of January, he ordered the line of battle to be formed; but was prevented from the proſecution of his intent, by the damage two of his capital ſhips received in running foul upon each other.—This accident afforded time to Count de Graſſe to put to ſea, and make his preparations for an engagement.

On the twenty-fifth, at day-break, both fleets being in ſight, Admiral Hood, in order to compaſs the point he had in view, which was to get between the enemy and the iſland, ſtill preſerved the appearance of an attack upon the French, to the end of drawing them further ou to ſea. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; and as ſoon as the Britiſh Admiral had a fair proſpect of gaining the anchorage left by the enemy, he puſhed for it with all diligence, and took poſſeſſion of it. This was undoubtedly,

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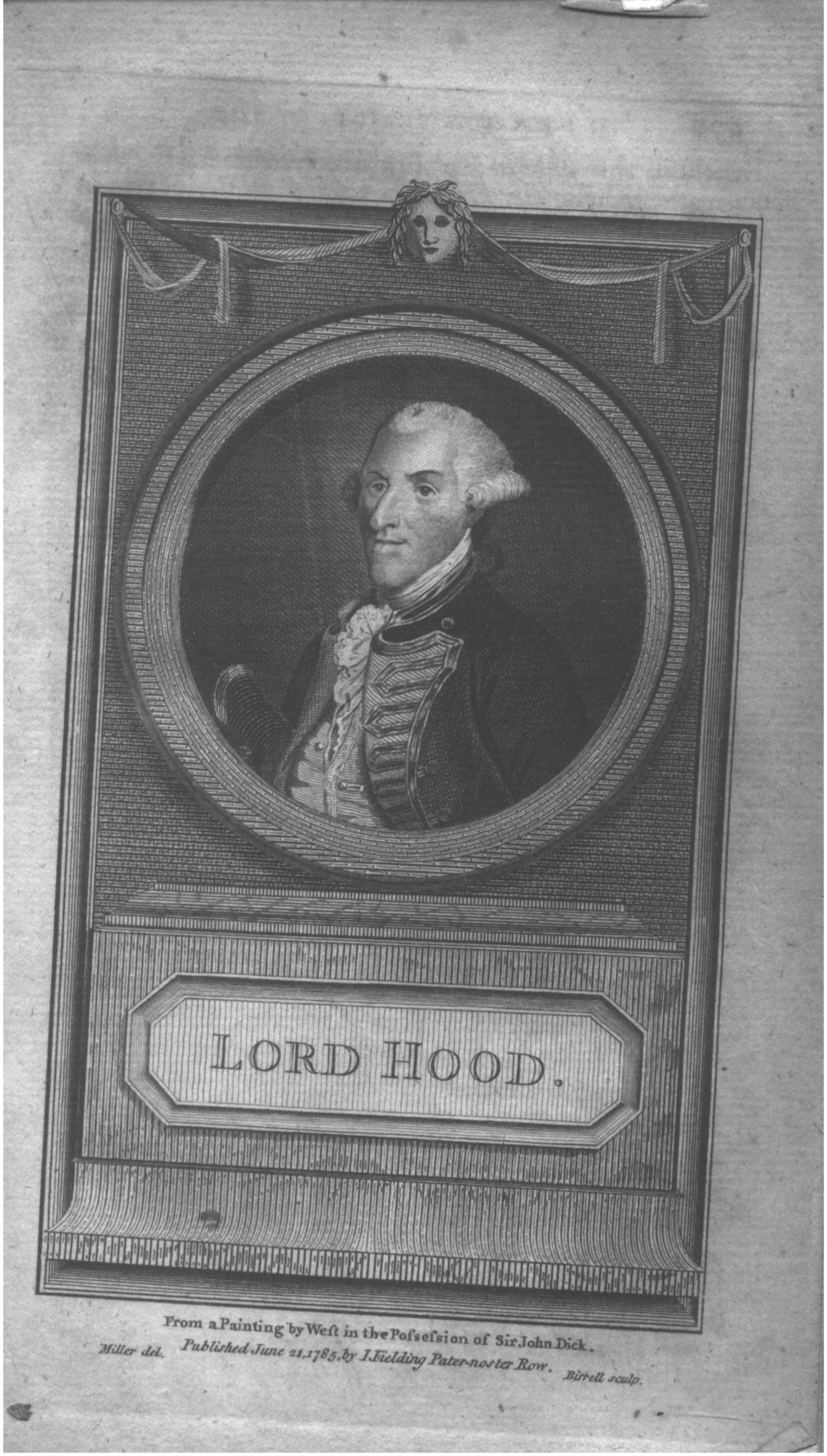

From a Painting by West in the Possession of Sir John Dick.

Miller del. Published June 21, 1785, by I. Fielding Pater-noster Row. Birrell sculp.

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in the Admiral's own words, the only chance he had of ſaving the iſland, if it could be ſaved.

Count de Graſſe, on perceiving his intent, endeavoured to prevent him, by cutting off his rear: but Commodore Affleck, aſſiſted by his two ſeconds, Captain Cornwallis, and Lord Robert Manners, received him with ſo vigorous a fire, that his attempt was totally fruſtrated, with great loſs of men on his ſide, and very little damage on the other.

Next day the French fleet renewed its attack on the Britiſh from van to rear, with its whole force. The conflict laſted two hours, and was maintained with great ſpirit by the enemy; but they could not make any impreſſion. After ſheering off, they returned in the afternoon, and made a ſecond attempt, but as ineffectual as the firſt.

In conſequence of theſe two repulſes, the enemy kept aloof, and left the Britiſh ſquadron in quiet poſſeſſion of the poſition it had taken. Their loſs in theſe two engagements was very conſiderable.—The number of ſlain muſt have been great, as no leſs than a thouſand of their wounded were ſent aſhore to Statia. Many of their ſhips were much damaged; the Ville de Paris, Count de Graſſe's own ſhip, had upwards of eighty ſhot holes, and lay during the next day on the heel, employed in repairing them.

The conduct of Admiral Hood throughout this remarkable tranſaction, was conſidered by the ableſt judges in theſe matters, as one of the greateſt profeſſional exertions that had happened during the whole war. It ſtruck the enemy with the higheſt admiration of his abilities, and with no little apprehenſions of them: it ſerved to confirm the impartial world in the opinion it had formed, that the naval genius of Britain would render her an overmatch for all her enemies.

In the mean time, the French were carrying on

courage and activity. They erected a number of batteries of heavy cannon and mortars on every ſpot of ground from whence it could be annoyed.—They had eſtabliſhed their head-quarters at the town of Sandy Point, but it was ſoon reduced to aſhes by the fire of the beſieged.

The fatigue undergone by the French was exceſſive, from the heat of the climate, and the neceſſity they were under of dragging their heavy artillery to the eminences on which it was to be placed. They were expoſed to an inceſſant fire, from the garriſon, who incommoded them ſeverely in all their approaches, and did ſuch execution among them, that they dearly purchaſed every inch of ground they were able to gain.

In order to obtain information of the ſituation and circumſtances of the garriſon at Brimſtone Hill, two officers, the one belonging to the navy, the other to the army, both of them reſolute and intelligent men, were diſpatched on ſhore, and found means through many difficulties to execute their commiſſion. The meſſage they brought back from General Frazer, was in the ſtile of the old warriors in the days of the Edwards and Henries: General Preſcot had ſent him word of his arrival with ſuccours; to which the blunt and gallant veteran replied, that as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould, doubtleſs, be glad to ſee him, but that he was in no want of him or them.

This ſpirited meſſage induced the Britiſh commanders to land a body of troops; in order, if practicable, to ſeize on ſome poſt that might enable them to impede the enemy's operations. An engagement enſued as ſoon as they were put aſhore, wherein they had the advantage. Next day the Marquis de Bouille advanced upon them, at the head of four thouſand men; but found General

Preſcot

Preſcot ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he retired without attacking him, and contented himſelf with making ſuch arrangements as were neceſſary to ſecure his own troops from being moleſted in their operations againſt the garriſon.

As the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy rendered an attempt upon them impracticable, the detachment on ſhore was withdrawn. Still, however, the garriſon continued its defence with unabated reſolution; in hope, that as ſoon as ſufficient reinforcements arrived, they would immediately proceed to their aſſiſtance. In this view they ſupported the hardſhips and continual toil that were daily encreaſing, with ſingular perſeverance and fortitude.

The French had by this time ſurrounded them, in a manner, with batteries of cannon and mortars, from which they plied them day and night with an inceſſant ſhower of ſhot and ſhells. This terrible operation continued three weeks; during which all the conſtructions of every kind upon the hill were entirely deſtroyed, and the garriſon deprived of all ſhelter.

On the eighth of February, they made their diſtreſs known to the Britiſh commanders on board the fleet, by means of the ſignals agreed upon. The utmoſt endeavours were in conſequence uſed, to inform them, that if they could poſſibly hold out ten days longer, it was highly probable the iſland would be ſaved; as the motions of the French Admiral, and proceedings on ſhore of the Marquis de Bouille, indicated a deſpair of ſucceſs, and an intention to relinquiſh the enterprize.

The various efforts that were made to convey this intelligence to the beſieged all miſcarried, to the great mortification of Admiral Hood, who left no expedient untried that could be deviſed, to accompliſh a purpoſe he had ſo much at heart, and from whence ſo much was expected.

The ſiege had now laſted five weeks. Haraſſed by unceaſing fatigue, the remains of the garriſon were unable to withſtand any longer the intolerable duty that was now impoſed upon them of being under arms both day and night. Their number was ſo reduced, that it would have been impoſſible to reſiſt an aſſault; and this was hourly looked for, from the total demolition of the works in moſt places, and almoſt all the guns being either diſmounted or diſabled.

In this extremity it was thought neceſſary to capitulate. The generoſity the Marquis de Bouille had diſplayed upon ſimilar occaſions, was a ſufficient inducement to afford the garriſon ample expectation of being treated with all manner of indulgence. But he was prompted by additional motives to grant them every requeſt they could make, in order to ſecure as ſoon as poſſible the poſſeſſion of the iſland. The arrival of Admiral Rodney was daily expected, together with ſuch a naval reinforcement as would place the Britiſh fleet upon a full equality at leaſt, if not a ſuperiority to the French.

From theſe conſiderations, the terms of the capitulation were favourable in the higheſt degree.—They were the ſame in regard to the inhabitants, as thoſe granted to the iſland of Dominico; and the garriſon, beſides the honours of war, was permitted to return to England, on condition of not ſerving againſt France or its allies till exchanged.

The Marquis de Bouille, with a magnanimity that added new luſtre to his character, complimented Governor Shirley and General Frazer with their perſonal liberty. His expreſſions in that article of the capitulation which ſpecified this favour, did equal honour both to him and thoſe gentlemen.

"Out of reſpect," he ſaid, "to the courage

Frazer, it is agreed that they ſhall not be conſidered as priſoners of war: the former may return to his government of Antigua, and the latter may continue in the ſervice of his country; being happy to teſtify this mark of particular eſteem for thoſe two brave officers."

The reduction of St. Chriſtopher took place on the thirteenth day of February, in the year eighty-two.

On the next day the French fleet anchoring off the iſland of Nevis, Admiral Hood judged it adviſable to leave the road of Baſſeterre, in order to preſerve his ſhips in a fit condition for ſervice, on the junction of Admiral Rodney, of which he was now in daily expectation. The preſent ſuperiority of Count de Graſſe rendered all further naval enterprizes imprudent, until the arrival of the reinforcement under that commander.

In order to diſlodge the Britiſh ſquadron, the French, as ſoon as they were in poſſeſſion of St. Chriſtopher, began to erect batteries of guns and mortars on a height that commanded the road. The conſideration of the impoſſibility of reſiſting the united attack that was preparing againſt him, both by land and ſea, together with the want of water and refreſhments, haſtened his departure to Barbadoes, where he determined to ſtation his ſquadron, and watch the motions of the enemy.

The French did not, however, obtain the ſucceſs they had met with at St. Chriſtopher without a conſiderable loſs of men. Excluſive of thoſe who fell in the engagements with the Britiſh ſquadron, above a thouſand were ſlain in the ſiege of Brimſtone Hill, beſides the much greater numbers that were wounded, and whoſe recovery in a climate ſo inimical to European conſtitutions as the Weſt Indies have conſtantly proved, was, of courſe, ſtood

doubtful, and required uncommon care, as well as length of time.

The fortune of the French ſeemed at this period to be ſettled on ſo firm a foundation in this part of the world, that no accidents were apprehended by them of a nature to effect an alteration to their diſadvantage. Their iſlands were full of as excellent troops as France had been able to furniſh for the expeditions it had projected againſt the Britiſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. The exertions of Spain to the ſame intent were alſo very formidable. Never in this quarter of the globe had the ſtrength of thoſe two potent monarchies been ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed. Their naval liſt was computed at more than threeſcore ſhips of the line. Theſe were attended with a prodigious multitude of frigates and armed veſſels.—With this immenſe force, they entertained no doubt of being able to make an entire conqueſt of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in that hemiſphere.

In the mean time, the Britiſh miniſtry, fully ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, was preparing a ſtrong ſquadron for their relief. It conſiſted of fifteen capital ſhips, and was commanded by Sir George Rodney. It arrived at Barbadoes on the nineteenth of February, where he formed the long deſired junction with Sir Samuel Hood. The Britiſh fleet now conſiſting of thirty-ſeven ſail of the line; both Admirals determined to put to ſea, and intercept the convoy of proviſions, ſtores, and ammunition, that was on its way from Breſt to Martinico, for the ſupply of Count de Graſſe's fleet. But notwithſtanding the judiciouſneſs of their diſpoſitions, the convoy had the addreſs to elude them, by dropping to leeward of the Britiſh fleet during the night, and ſailing round Guadaloupe; from whence keeping cloſe with the land of Dominico, it arrived ſafe in the

LORD RODNEY.

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In consequence of this disappointment Admiral Rodney repaired to St. Lucia, where he took in provisions for five or six months, with a determination to follow the French fleet the moment it sailed out of Martinico, wherever it should direct its course. In this view, a number of frigates were stationed off that island, to give notice of its departure.

The design of the French Admiral was to proceed with all diligence to Hispaniola, where Don Solano was waiting for him with sixteen ships of the line, and a numerous body of land forces. These, added to the French fleet and troops, were to have formed a joint attack upon the island of Jamaica. With this object before him, he made it his utmost care to avoid an engagement with the English, till he had joined the Spanish fleet, when, from the superiority he should then possess, he would be under no apprehensions of meeting with any effectual obstruction to the projects he was commissioned to execute.

The great importance of preventing this junction, and of forcing him to an engagement before it took place, was obvious to the British Admiral. Until this had been effected, the islands yet belonging to Britain could not look upon their condition as secure.

To the great satisfaction of the British commanders, they were informed early in the morning of the eighth of April, by the signals made from the frigates of observation, that the French fleet was getting under way, and steering to leeward. Admiral Rodney stood immediately after the enemy, and came up with them off Dominica towards the evening. A calm prevented any motion in either fleet till the next day, when the enemy, favoured by a breeze, made for Guadaloupe. The van of the British fleet receiving the wind soon after, fol-

lowed them with all diligence, and fetched them near enough to engage. Count de Graſſe eagerly ſeized the opportunity of attacking this diviſion of the Britiſh fleet, while ſo far ſeparated from the reſt; but Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded it, withſtood him with a firmneſs and order which the enemy, tho' he bore down upon him with his whole ſtrength, could not diſcompoſe. He had at one time no leſs than ſeven ſhips upon him. It was noon before there was a ſufficiency of wind to carry part of the Britiſh center to the ſupport of the van.

Out of thirty-ſix ſhips, of which the Britiſh fleet conſiſted on this occaſion, only twenty could come into action: but ſuch was the ſkill and gallantry with which they maintained ſo unequal a conflict, that notwithſtanding Count de Graſſe's whole fleet, conſiſting of thirty-four ſail of the line, lay upon them, the damages it received were far greater than thoſe it occaſioned. The principal loſs was that of Captain Bayne of the Alfred, an officer of great merit.

The Britiſh rear edging up at length to the center, the French Admiral drew his ſhips out of action, and continued to keep at ſuch a diſtance, as defeated all endeavours to near him.

The tenth and eleventh were ſpent in preventing the enemy from weathering Guadaloupe. Towards the evening of this day ſome of the headmoſt ſhips of the Britiſh fleet approached ſo near to one of the enemy's, that had ſuffered conſiderably in the late action, that it muſt have been taken, had not Count de Graſſe bore down with his whole fleet for its preſervation. The movement he made for this purpoſe brought him ſo near to the Britiſh fleet, that Admiral Rodney conceived immediate hope of being able to force him to action the next day. With this intent he made ſuch diſpoſitions during the night, that it

was plain, at break of day, that it was no longer in the enemy's power to avoid an engagement.

Not one moment was loſt in putting into execution the long determined method of engaging the enemy. The ſignal for cloſe battle was thrown out, and obeyed with univerſal readineſs by every ſhip in the fleet. The action commenced about ſeven in the morning, by Admiral Drake's diviſion. Ranging up as near as poſſible to the enemy, not a gun was fired from the Britiſh fleet, till it had approached them ſufficiently for every ſhot to do execution; When ſuch a fire began, and laſted throughout the whole fight, as the oldeſt ſeamen in both fleets confeſſed they had never witneſſed before. The Formidable, Admiral Rodney's ſhip, diſcharged in the courſe of this terrible conflict near eighty broadſides.

The force, deſtined for the expedition againſt Jamaica, was diſtributed on board the French fleet. Hence their ſhips were ſo crouded, that the ſlaughter among them was prodigious. This force was little ſhort of ſix thouſand men, and the loſs it ſuſtained on this day, almoſt ruined it as entirely, as if it had been completely defeated at land.

The battle was fought on both ſides with a ſpirit and determination, worthy of the character of two brave and rival nations, who ſeemed, on this occaſion, to uſe Admiral Rodney's expreſſion, to look upon the honour of their country as eſſentially concerned in the event of this day.

The fight had continued with equal reſolution, and without any apparent ſuperiority of ſucceſs, till between twelve and one, when Admiral Rodney, perceiving an opportunity of breaking aſunder the enemy's line of battle, reſolved to improve it to the utmoſt of his power. In his own ſhip of ninety guns, ſeconded by two others of the ſame rate, and one of ſeventy-four, he bore down upon their cen-

ter, and penetrated through it. He was followed by the remainder of his diviſion, and wearing round cloſe upon the enemy, effectually ſeparated their fleets.

To increaſe the diſorder into which they were thrown by this bold and unexpected motion, Admiral Drake in the van, was directed by ſignal to tack, and gain the wind of the enemy. This being effected with great expertneſs and celerity, the confuſion became general throughout the French fleet. The van endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the line, but with no ſucceſs; and their rear was ſo entirely routed, that no hope remained of recovering its order. The rear diviſion, commanded by Admiral Hood, coming up on this juncture, completed the enemy's defeat, and rendered it irretrievable.

In this deſperate ſituation the behaviour of the French Admiral was firm and intrepid in the higheſt degree. With his own and the other ſhips in the center, he withſtood till evening all the efforts of the various ſhips that attacked him. Captain Cornwallis, in the Canada of ſeventy-four guns, ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner, by the bravery with which he engaged him during the ſpace of two hours; but Count de Graſſe continued his reſiſtance with as much obſtinacy, as if the ſucceſs of the day had ſtill remained doubtful.

He perſiſted in this manner, facing with the moſt admirable undauntedneſs the repeated attempts that were made upon him, from every quarter, till paſt ſix o'clock in the afternoon. Admiral Hood's approach did not alter his determination: He bore a heavy fire from him during ſome time, without any appearance of yielding; and it was not till after a dreadful deſtruction of his people, that he conſented at laſt to ſtrike. He and two more were the only men left ſtanding upon the upper deck.

He

He was not the only man however who behaved in this reſolute manner. Several French captains diſplayed an intrepidity in the defence of their reſpective ſhips, after the rout had commenced, which did them the more honour, as from the ſucceſs gained by the Engliſh, theſe were now enabled to attack them with great advantages. The Captain of the Glorieux did not yield till all his maſts were ſhot away, and his veſſel was unable to make any defence. The Captain of the Cæſar, after his ſhip had been battered to pieces, and his enſign-ſtaff ſhot away, ordered his colours to be nailed to the maſt, inflexibly reſolved never to ſtrike. He continued fighting accordingly till he was ſlain. When his ſhip ſurrendered, it was almoſt a wreck. Other French officers acted in the ſame manner.

The courage exhibited on the other hand by the Britiſh officers, was ſuch, that it was difficult to tell who deſerved the higheſt praiſe. Excluſive of the commanders, to whoſe valour and ſkill muſt be chiefly aſcribed the ſucceſs of the day, Captains Cornwallis and Ingleſield diſtinguiſhed themſelves; the firſt by taking the Hector, a ſhip of the ſame force as his own, and contributing greatly to the capture of Count de Graſſe's ſhip; the ſecond by engaging and utterly diſabling the Cæſar, a veſſel of equal ſtrength to that which he commanded.

Never did France, ſince the famous battle at La Hogue, in the year ſixteen hundred and ninety-two, ſuſtain ſo compleat and ruinous a defeat as on this memorable day. Their fleet, according to the accounts that afterwards tranſpired, was by their own confeſſion almoſt ruined; and their loſs in men amounted to an abſolute carnage. The number of thoſe who were actually ſlain in this engagement, and that of the ninth, was computed at three thouſand, and the wounded at near double that proportion. What rendered this computation not impro-

bable was, that upwards of four hundred men were killed on board the Ville de Paris, and that in ſeveral French ſhips ſingly, between two and three hundred were outright ſlain.

This deſtruction among the French was the more aſtoniſhing, as in the Britiſh fleet the loſs did not exceed eleven hundred in killed and wounded. The officers of diſtinction who fell, were Capt. Blair of the Anſon, and Lord Robert Manners of the Reſolution, both of them officers of the higheſt deſert. The latter was the ſon to the late illuſtrious Marquis of Granby.

It was the general obſervation of the world, that the Britiſh ſeamen made good upon this occaſion their boaſt, that whenever they ſhould bring the enemy to cloſe fight, the day would be their own. The perſeverance and obſtinacy with which they ſtood to their guns, and the alacrity and confidence of victory they exhibited, from the moment they found themſelves in cloſe action, were a matter of aſtoniſhment, as well as of animation, even to their own officers.

This important victory was the more conſpicuous, as upon a candid examination of the circumſtances of the fight, it appears, that the real ſuperiority in number of ſhips during the action was on the ſide of the French. Their fleet, according to their own account, conſiſted of thirty-four ſhips of the line. The Britiſh exceeded it only by two; but ſix ſhips of its rear diviſion were prevented from coming up through want of wind.

The loſs of ſhipping on the part of the enemy, amounted to five taken; three of ſeventy-four guns, of which the complement was nine hundred men each, and one of ſixty-four and ſeven hundred and fifty. Another of their line was reported to be ſunk. But that ſhip, of which the loſs ſtruck the French with the deepeſt concern, was the Ville de Paris,

Paris, ſo called from the city of Paris having built it at its own expence, and made a preſent of it to the late King. It had coſt four millions of French livres, and was eſteemed the moſt magnificent ſhip in France. It carried one hundred and ten guns, and had on board at its departure from Martinico, thirteen hundred men, including marines and land ſoldiers.

It ought not to paſs unnoticed, that the French fleet was under the command of three of the braveſt and moſt eſteemed officers in France; the Count de Graſſe, M. de Vaudreuille, and M. de Bougainville, whoſe naval abilities, as well as perſonal valour, were univerſally acknowledged.

This was a truly unfortunate day to Count de Graſſe. He loſt at once by this defeat all the benefits reſulting from his late ſucceſſes. He had by his dexterous management provided for the ſafety of a large convoy that ſailed with him from Martinico, of which the deſtination was to the French ports in Hiſpaniola, and the preſervation of which was of immenſe conſequence at the preſent juncture. He had ſo far diſappointed the endeavours to come up with his fleet, and was ſo much out of reach, that the Britiſh commanders almoſt deſpaired of being able to overtake him. In theſe circumſtances he might have held on his courſe unmoleſted to Cape Francois, the place appointed for the junction of the French and Spaniſh armaments. Here arrived, he would have been at full liberty to enter on the execution of thoſe deſigns with which he was entruſted, and would at the ſame time have been in the command of ſuch a ſtrength as would have ſet him above all danger. Had the whole Britiſh naval power in the Weſt Indies been collected for the purpoſe of oppoſing him, he ſtill would have retained a ſuperiority ſufficient to have carried

on the attempts he had in view, and which it would have been highly difficult to prevent him from profecuting.

All theſe important objects were given up in a fatal hour. For the ſake of ſaving a crippled ſhip, he expoſed himſelf to a reverſe of fortune, which, had it not befallen him, he ſtill would have juſtly deſerved; thus loſing by one wrong ſtep, all the advantages he had gained, and the ſtill greater of which he had the proſpect and probability.

Such were the complaints and cenſures to which his ill fortune ſubjected the Count de Graſſe among his countrymen. He exculpated himſelf on the other hand, by alledging, that the fleet under his command was fully a match for that under Admiral Rodney; eſpecially conſidering the damages it had ſuſtained in its engagement with him on the ninth, three days only previous to that he was now blamed for having hazarded. Under ſuch circumſtances, it would have been a diſgrace to France to have loſt a ſhip of the line, without attempting to protect it againſt the enemy.

In the opinion of reaſonable people, the French Admiral was fully acquitted of the foregoing charges. His conduct throughout the whole of this tranſaction was juſtifiable in every reſpect. His diſpoſitions were proper and judicious, and his behaviour in the day of battle did him the higheſt credit. He might be accounted unfortunate, but by no means faulty.

The flying enemy were cloſely purſued by Commodore Affleck, and the ſhips in company with him. He kept up a vigorous fire upon them, and continued the chace till dark. On the morning of the next day they were entirely out of ſight. They had fled in a variety of directions, in order the better to elude and eſcape purſuit. Some took their courſe even ſo far to leeward as the Dutch iſland of

Curaſſoa, bordering on the Spaniſh coaſt of South America. The greater number collecting themſelves into a ſquadron of twenty-three or four ſail of the line, made the beſt of their way to Cape Francois.

This was all that remained in a body of the formidable fleet that had lately occaſioned ſo much terror in the Britiſh iſlands. It is highly probable that if night had not interpoſed, hardly any would have been able to effect an eſcape.

As ſoon as it was light, Admiral Rodney prepared for the immediate purſuit of the enemy, but was prevented by a calm, which laſted three days. A number of frigates and light veſſels were diſpatched in the mean time to explore the harbours in the neighbouring French iſlands: when it being aſcertained that the enemy had ſailed to leeward, Sir Samuel Hood's diviſion was diſpatched in queſt of them. He uſed ſo much diligence, that on the next day after leaving the fleet, he diſcovered five of their ſhips making towards the Mona Paſſage, between the Eaſt end of Hiſpaniola and the iſland of Porto Rico. The Valiant, of ſeventy-four guns, Capt. Goodall, being a great way a-head of the diviſion, which was becalmed, availed himſelf of a favourable breeze to croſs over the long and dangerous ſhoals of Cape Roxo in purſuit of them.—Coming up with two ſhips of the line, within three or four miles of the land, and fearing their companies might attempt to run aſhore and burn them, he reſolved to attack them without delay.—After little more than an hour's action, he carried both, with an inconſiderable loſs on his ſide. But they ſuffered exceedingly in their maſts and rigging, and their killed and wounded exceeded one hundred.

The capture of theſe two ſhips, both of which

ſignal honour to Capt. Goodall, whoſe gallantry and good conduct were equally diſplayed in this daring action. Of the other three veſſels, which were frigates, only one eſcaped the ſhips that purſued them.

After the performance of this important ſervice, Admiral Hood's diviſion rejoined the fleet off Cape Tiberoon; where he was left with twenty-five ſhips of the line to watch the motions of the combined forces of the enemy, who were aſſembling at Cape Francois in great numbers, and collecting the remains of their ſhattered fleet. Notwithſtanding their late defeat, their ſtrength was yet very formidable; it conſiſted of twenty-four French, and ſixteen Spaniſh ſail of the line, the latter entirely freſh from port. The troops were between ten and twelve thouſand regulars, beſides marines and volunteers from their iſlands. A ſtrong ſquadron was alſo daily expected from France, under M. de Guichen, with a large military reinforcement. All theſe circumſtances concurred to render the enemy, though defeated, yet very dangerous, and to make it neceſſary to be prepared for all events.

To this purpoſe, Admiral Rodney now repaired to Jamaica with all poſſible expedition; as well to provide for its full ſecurity, as to ſuperintend the repair of the damages many of his ſhips had received in the late action. They were accordingly refitted with ſo much diligence, that a few days after his arrival at that iſland, which was towards the cloſe of April, he was able to diſpatch ſuch a reinforcement to Admiral Hood, that the enemy did not dare to venture out of their ports, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in number. They ſeemed to have loſt both the ſpirit to attempt, and the expectation to ſucceed, in any enterpriſe againſt the fleets or poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the Weſt

In this manner were fruſtrated the deſigns of France and Spain in this part of the world. The firſt were now bereaved of almoſt every means they had prepared for their proſecution. Beſides the deprivation of eight of their principal ſhips, and the ſhattered condition of many of the reſt, they had loſt the whole train of artillery belonging to their troops, with all its appurtenances, together with thirty-ſix cheſts full of money, for the payment of the military in their intended expeditions. Thus, had they been inclined to perſiſt in the purſuit of their undertakings, they muſt have chiefly depended on the reſources of their Spaniſh allies. But theſe partook ſo deeply of the impreſſion that had been made by the late diſaſter, that they did not ſeem in the leaſt diſpoſed to act with any vigour for its reparation. They ſhortly after returned to the Havannah, giving up all thoughts of embracing any meaſures, for the preſent, but ſuch as were requiſite for their own ſafety.

The news of this ſignal victory arriving in Europe at a time when the attention of all people was taken up with the immenſe preparations carrying on againſt Great Britain and her foreign dependencies, ſtruck them with the greater aſtoniſhment, as they had been given to underſtand by the emiſſaries and adherents to France and Spain, that it was paſt all poſſibility for Britain to withſtand the efforts that would be made againſt its poſſeſſions in the American ſeas. The enumeration of their land and naval forces that were to be employed in this part of the world, filled all their people at home, and their numerous partiſans abroad, with the utmoſt exultation, and occaſioned the moſt ſerious alarm in Britain, and among the few friends of conſequence it had in Europe.

It was therefore with unſpeakable ſurpriſe that

that was wholly unexpected, and even considered in some measure, by many, as impossible, in the ordinary course of things. It wrought an immediate change in every court of Europe: they no longer beheld Great Britain with the same eye. It had lately been pronounced on the brink of inevitable ruin, and its fall portended as the necessary conclusion of the numberless difficulties in which it had so long been involved. But now a new language was held, and different ideas took place every where. The menacing boasts of France and Spain, and the representations of their vast strength, lost all force and credit. Experience, it was now said, fully showed, that the superiority of which they made such a parade, was much greater in appearance than in effect; and that when put to a fair trial, they were not able to encounter Great Britain. Fleets might be constructed, and people found to man them, but the valour and skill of British seamen would still render them invincible.

Such were the opinions and discourses of the disinterested part of society. Even in those countries where the influence of France was notorious, the expectations that had been raised in her favour totally vanished; and the persuasion that had maintained its ground only among a few, that Great Britain would terminate the contest to her honour, now became current and popular every where.

It was remarked at the same time by many, that as the year eighty-one, which had begun with fair prospects on the side of Britain in North America and the West Indies, had ended greatly to its disadvantage; in the same manner, the year eighty-two, which had opened with the most flattering promises to France and its allies, had produced the most unpropitious event that had hitherto befallen the confederacy against Britain.

This event may be ſaid to have entirely decided the fate of the war in the Weſt Indies, as the affair at York Town had in the preceding campaign ſettled the deſtiny of the Colonies.

CHAP. LXVI.

Tranſactions in the European Seas.—French and Spaniards repulſed at Gibraltar.—Lord Howe relieves it.

1782.

DURING the winter of the year eighty-one, the various powers in combination againſt Great Britain were buſily employed in forming a variety of plans to diſtreſs it in every vulnerable part. The ſucceſs of the Americans had highly raiſed the ſpirit and confidence of her numerous enemies. They projected a general union of all their naval forces, with which they made no doubt of overwhelming all reſiſtance, and becoming abſolute maſters of the ſea.

Their plan was, it ſeems, to ſelect their beſt ſhips and ſeamen, and to invade the Channel in ſuch a manner, as to deter the Britiſh home force from venturing to face them. To this intent, threeſcore ſhips of the line, compoſed of the largeſt and beſt conſtructed in France, Spain, and Holland, were to take poſſeſſion of the narrow ſeas, while a numerous liſt of frigates ſhould occupy every track frequented by the trading fleets, or veſſels of this iſland.

Nor did their intentions reſt here:—A number of troops were at the ſame time to have been diſtributed on board their Channel fleet; which, as opportunity ſerved, were to have made deſcents on different parts of the neighbouring coaſt; and even, if they ſaw any proſpect of ſucceeding, to have made attempts of the moſt ſerious nature.

In the midſt of this perilous ſituation, the Bri-

determination for the worſt that might happen.—Excluſive of the powerful bodies of regulars, and excellently diſciplined militia, that were ſtationed wherever any danger of an attempt on ſhore might be apprehended, ſuch a judicious arrangement was made of the naval forces remaining for domeſtic defence, that notwithſtanding the alarming ſuperiority of the enemy, means were found to provide for the commercial navigation of Britain in every quarter, and at the ſame time to face and repel hoſtilities wherever they were exerciſed.

The chief objects of attention in this arduous criſis, were to prevent the junction of the Dutch fleet with thoſe of France and Spain, to intercept their trade in the Baltic, and to protect that of Britain in thoſe ſeas; to relieve Gibraltar, at this period in great danger, and to cut off thoſe ſupplies that France was now preparing to ſend to her fleets and ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

All theſe were objects of equal and indiſpenſible neceſſity, and required the utmoſt watchfulneſs and diligence in their execution. The laſt, in particular, demanded the moſt immediate and vigorous exertion. Eighteen large veſſels were loading at Breſt with proviſions, and warlike neceſſaries of all kinds, and with a body of troops to reinforce M. de Suffrein in India. They were eſcorted by two ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, one of ſixty-four, and ſome frigates.

Intelligence of the intended departure of this convoy arrived in time to diſpatch twelve ſail of the line, under Admiral Barrington, in queſt of it. He fell in with it on the twentieth of April: the French endeavoured to avoid him, but were ſo cloſely purſued, that in order to favour their eſcape, the largeſt of their men of war was compelled to ſtand an engagement with the Foudroyant. Captain Jarvis, which

the Britiſh ſquadron that had been able to come up with them. It laſted an hour, during which the ſlaughter on board the French ſhip, and the damage done to it, was very great in proportion to that ſpace of time. More than eighty men were killed, and a much greater number wounded, when ſhe ſtruck to the Foudroyant, of which the loſs was ſo inconſiderable, that only a few men were wounded, not one of whom died; a circumſtance unprecedented in ſo ſharp, though ſhort an engagement.

In the mean time the chace continued with great vigour. Captain Maitland fell in with, and took a ſhip of ſixty-four guns; twelve of the convoy were alſo captured. The value of their cargoes was immenſe in regard to the purpoſe of their deſtination. The number of priſoners exceeded two thouſand, of whom more than one half were regular troops.

The ſucceſs of this ſquadron having ſecured one of the moſt eſſential objects in view, it next became neceſſary to keep a watchful eye on the Dutch, who lay in great force at the Texel, with the double intent of convoying their trade to the Baltic, and of forming afterwards a junction with the combined fleets of their French and Spaniſh allies.

Twelve ſhips of the line ſailed from Portſmouth to the coaſt of Holland under Lord Howe. On receiving intelligence of his approach, the Dutch fleet, which was already at ſea, on its propoſed voyage, returned immediately into port. After cruiſing three weeks in theſe ſeas, during which the enemy remained within the Texel, a dangerous and epidemic illneſs breaking out in his ſquadron, Lord Howe returned to Portſmouth, where diligent preparations were making to put the Channel fleet in a proper condition to face the great naval force that was ſhortly expected on the Britiſh coaſt.

Two powerful ſquadrons, one of French, the

whence they proceeded in company to the northern extremity of the Bay of Biſcay, in expectation of being reinforced by another ſquadron from Breſt. While cruiſing in theſe latitudes, they met with a numerous convoy of Britiſh ſhips for Newfoundland and Canada, fifteen of which fell into their hands.

Information arriving that a large fleet of merchantmen was on its way from Jamaica, the protection of it became a matter of ſuch importance, that notwithſtanding the vaſt number of the enemy waiting to intercept it, it was reſolved that the ſhips in readineſs ſhould forthwith put to ſea. They amounted to no more than twenty-two ſail of the line, but they were commanded by Lord Howe, and Admirals Barrington, Roſs, and Kempenfelt.

Never were the naval abilities of Lord Howe more fully experienced than upon this critical occaſion. The force of the enemy was more than double his own; yet his diſpoſitions were ſo maſterly, that they were unable to circumvent him; and he fruſtrated their deſigns upon the Jamaica fleet, ſo completely, that it arrived in perfect ſafety at the different places of its deſtination.

The reputation obtained by theſe brilliant exertions, was clouded, however, by the moſt melancholy event that had befallen the Britiſh navy ſince the commencement of the war.

The diſtreſs to which the garriſon of Gibraltar was at this time reduced, required ſuch inſtant relief, that every expedition was uſed in preparing as ſtrong a fleet for that important purpoſe as could be collected. It conſiſted of the beſt and ſtouteſt ſhips in the Britiſh navy. Among theſe was the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, eſteemed the nobleſt ſhip in the ſervice. It had been the favourite of Lord Hawke, and other great naval officers, and had done eſſential ſervice on a variety

of important occaſions. It was undergoing at this time ſome repairs, and an examination of its condition, which required it to be ſomewhat laid on the ſide; but neither of them were ſo conſiderable as to oblige the company to quit her, or to take out her guns or ſtores, or equipments of any kind. She was therefore full of people; not only her own complement of men was on board, but numbers of others, women and children eſpecially, who were come to take leave of their huſbands and fathers before their departure. While the workmen were buſied in the manner deſcribed, a gale of wind ſuddenly aroſe, which laid her entirely on the ſide: her ports being all open, the water ruſhed in from all parts, and ſhe ſunk in a few minutes. Of the numbers ſhe contained at this unfortunate hour, amounting, it was thought, to near a thouſand, not above four hundred were ſaved.

But the loſs which was moſt felt and lamented, as being irreparable at this critical ſeaſon, was that of Admiral Kempenfelt, and the many brave officers and ſailors who periſhed with him. No veſſel in the fleet had a greater proportion of able ſeamen: he himſelf was reputed one of the moſt experienced naval officers in the whole world. Though advanced in years, being almoſt ſeventy, he added to the knowledge and judgment obtained by long ſervice, a vivacity and quickneſs of execution, that qualified him for the moſt arduous and complicated trials.—He was univerſally allowed to be a man peculiarly calculated for the difficult times in which he now lived.

The grief and concern of the public at this unexpected diſaſter, was univerſal throughout the nation. The merit of this great officer, and the deprivation of his abilities at a juncture when they were ſo much needed, rendered the lamentation for his loſs very deep and ſincere. Nor did it termi-

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nate in expreſſions of ſorrow; a moſt generous contribution was raiſed for the relief of the widows and children of the ſeamen who were loſt on this melancholy occaſion, which happened on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, eighty-two.

In the mean time, the preparations relating to Gibraltar, were continued with an attention and diligence which the importance of that object well merited. The ſiege had now laſted three years, and all Europe was in ſuſpenſe in what manner it would cloſe. The defence it had made excited univerſal admiration, and reflected an honour on the Britiſh nation, which, added to its late ſucceſſes in the Weſt Indies, began to render the prodigious efforts againſt this fortreſs very doubtful, and to occaſion no little anxiety among thoſe of the enemy who had hitherto been ſanguine in their expectations of ſucceſs.

The reduction of Minorca had indeed ſpread a general ſatisfaction throughout Spain; and, it was imagined, would produce an emulation in thoſe who were employed againſt Gibraltar, which might have proved of effectual utility. But the difference between the two places was ſuch, that the moſt intelligent people withheld their hopes, and did not look with any warmth of confidence on the probability that the latter would ſhare the ſame fate as the former. Confined within the narrow limits of its fortifications, the garriſon of St. Philip had in a manner been incloſed in a priſon, where want of room, and proper accommodation, had produced numberleſs inconveniences, and ſubjected the troops to that illneſs which forced them to ſurrender, by diſabling them from doing duty. Minorca was alſo at a vaſt diſtance from all ſuccour, and its poſition laid it open to France on the one ſide, and to Spain on the other.

But the ſituation of Gibraltar was ſuch, as enabled the troops, though limited to an inconſiderable ſpot, to breath a more free and open air. It had the benefit of being almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea; and was inacceſſible by nature ſtill more than by art. In the only part where it communicated with the main land, it was ſo powerfully fortified, and in ſuch a ſtrong condition, that the ingenuity of the moſt expert engineers had hitherto proved of no efficacy; and little more impreſſion had been made on its defences, than on the firſt day they had been attacked.

From theſe conſiderations, the generality of thinking people did not allow there was a juſt foundation to build any certainty of ſucceeding in the future, after having repeatedly failed in ſo many paſt attempts upon it, wherein ſo much valour and ability had been equally diſplayed.

Having however met with ſucceſs at Minorca, the whole Spaniſh nation felt a revival of its hope to conquer the difficulties at Gibraltar. The original framing of the expedition againſt that iſland being aſcribed to the king, it is of courſe natural to ſuppoſe, that on the completion of his deſign in that quarter, he ſhould be led to make more vigorous exertions than ever, for the attaining of an object which he had ſtill more at heart than the former.

The ſatisfaction he expreſſed on the conqueſt of Minorca was exceſſive. He rewarded the Duke of Crillon with the higheſt generoſity; appointing him Captain-General of his armies, and to the conducting of the ſiege of Gibraltar. He now determined to employ the whole ſtrength of the Spaniſh Monarchy to recover it to the Crown, from which he complained it had been torn, together with Minorca, by the calamity of the times. He conſidered it, for that reaſon, as incumbent on his own perſonal

perſonal honour, to recover it at a period that ſeemed ſo favourable as the preſent to ſuch an undertaking.

It was obvious, nevertheleſs, that new methods muſt be adopted in its proſecution, the former having conſtantly failed. The conflagration of the town had only ruined the inhabitants, without producing any other effect, than to caſt an odium on the beſiegers in the eyes of all Europe, as if they revenged themſelves on the defenceleſs people, for the diſgrace of being unable to make any impreſſion on the garriſon.

Among the various projects that were formed, that which was propoſed by the Chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer of diſtinction, proved the moſt acceptable to the Court of Spain: it was attended with a vaſt expence; but, as it ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, that was an object of little conſideration.

The plan of this celebrated engineer was to conſtruct ſuch floating batteries, as might neither be liable to be ſunk, nor ſet on fire. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickeſt timber, and their ſides of wood and cork long ſoaked in water, with a large layer of wet ſand between. Their thickneſs was ſuch, that they were impenetrable to a cannon ſhot. To prevent the effects of the red-hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived, to carry water through every part of the veſſel; and a quantity of pumps were provided to furniſh them with a continual ſupply of water for that purpoſe. A cover of rope netting ſheltered the people at the batteries from the fall of bombs. It was made ſloping, that they might roll off, and ſpread with wet hides to prevent fire.

The number of theſe floating batteries amounted to ten. They were made out of the hulls of large veſſels, ſome of fifty and ſixty guns, cut down for that purpoſe, and carrying from twenty-eight to

ten guns each, with about half as many in reſerve againſt accidents. Each gun was ſerved by thirty-ſix artillery men. Theſe floating batteries were to be ſeconded by eighty large boats, mounted with guns and mortars of heavy metal. A multitude of frigates and ſhips of force, and ſome hundreds of ſmall craft, were to accompany them with troops, for the inſtant execution of what might occur as neceſſary to be performed.

The quantities of timber, iron, ammunition, and warlike ſtores, implements and utenſils of every denomination, employed upon this occaſion, were enormous. The heavy artillery was computed to exceed a thouſand pieces, and the gunpowder four ſcore thouſand barrels.

To the land-force already encamped before the place, a body of twelve thouſand choice troops from France was now added. The corps of engineers was the flower of what France and Spain could furniſh; and the camp was crouded with volunteers of the beſt families in both kingdoms. Numbers of military gentlemen came from every part of Europe to be witneſſes of the ſtupendous tranſactions that were daily taking place at this famous ſiege; which was now compared to the moſt famous recorded in hiſtory.

Allured by the proſpect of beholding the reduction of this fortreſs, two Princes of the Blood Royal of France came to the ſiege, ſome time after the command of it had devolved to the Duke of Crillon. Thoſe were the Count of Artois, brother to the King of France, and the Duke of Bourbon, his couſin. Their arrival was marked by a behaviour full of atteption and politeneſs both to the Governor and his garriſon. The Count of Artois tranſmitted a packet of letters for various individuals in the garriſon, which had been intercepted and carried to Madrid, where they had been de-

tained, and which he requeſted he might be the inſtrument of conveying to thoſe for whom they were deſigned. Both he and the Duke of Bourbon ſignified, by a letter written in their name to General Eliott, the high regard and eſteem they entertained for his perſon and character. The Duke of Crillon himſelf took this opportunity to expreſs the ſame ſentiments, and to intreat the General to accept of ſome refreſhments.

General Eliott's anſwer was a pattern of ſoldierly frankneſs and civility. After expreſſing his reſpect for the marks of conſideration beſtowed on him by the two Princes, he informed the Duke, that by accepting of his preſent he had infringed the reſolution he had taken, and faithfully kept ſince the commencement of the ſiege, to procure no proviſions for his private uſe, and to partake of plenty or ſcarcity in common with his fellow-ſoldiers; requeſting him, for theſe reaſons, to confer no favours of that kind on him in future.

In the mean time, the prodigious preparations carrying on againſt the place, awakened the confidence of the beſiegers to ſuch a degree, that they looked on the reduction of it as a matter of abſolute certainty. They began to be impatient at the delays that aroſe, in the bringing of matters to that point of perfection and readineſs that was propoſed; and manifeſted the utmoſt eagerneſs to make trial of the efficacy of the vaſt project in agitation.

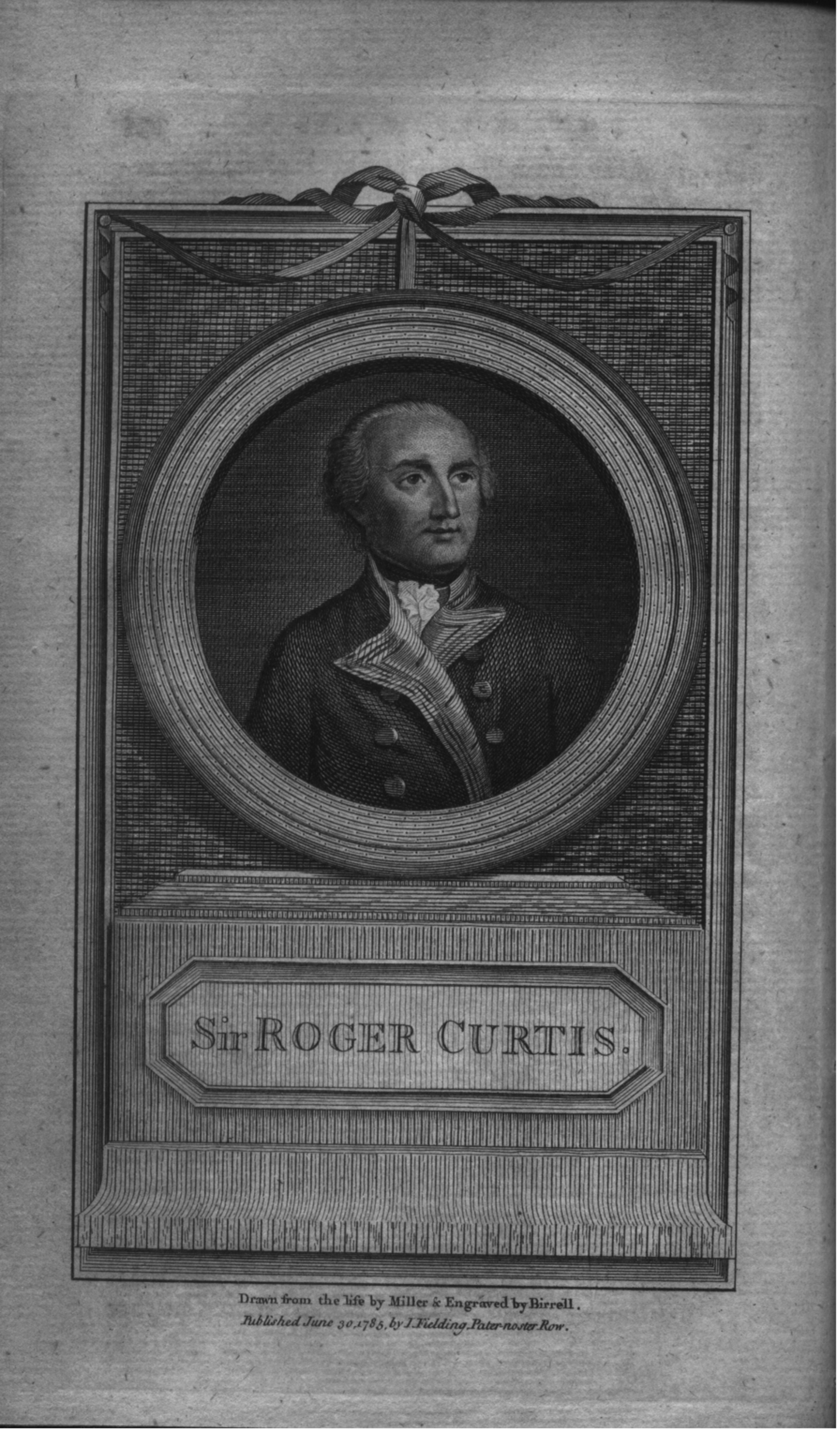
Theſe were not, however, the ſole motives for its acceleration. It was well known in Spain that a powerful fleet was preparing in England for the relief of Gibraltar, commanded by officers of great valour and experience, and who would not fail to exert themſelves, with the utmoſt reſolution, to preſerve a place of ſo much importance. The incomparable ſuperiority in number of the combined

concerning the event that might enſue from an engagement with that of Great Britain.

Impelled by theſe various conſiderations, the reſolution was taken, as ſoon as the deſigned arrangements were in a ſtate of ſufficient forwardneſs, to loſe no time in carrying the propoſed ſcheme into execution. Every thing ſeemed to concur in favour of this determination. A moſt violent ſpirit of reciprocal ſtrife and emulation had taken poſſeſſion of the French and Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers: They were perpetually contending who ſhould give the moſt daring proofs of their reſpective bravery. While they were in this temper, it was naturally concluded, that no efforts would be wanting to give ſucceſs to the operations in view, that depended on the ardour and intrepidity of thoſe who were to be employed in their execution.

General Eliott was not ignorant, on the other hand, that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared againſt him; and that they were of ſo terrible and powerful a nature, that the beſiegers looked upon them as infallible for the accompliſhment of their intent. Though he was not acquainted with the particulars relating to thoſe contrivances, his own judgment directed him in forming a juſt idea of their general conſtruction and principles. He now turned his attention to the counteracting of them in the moſt efficacious manner; not doubting but the vigour and reſolution which had hitherto ſo conſpicuouſly ſignalized the behaviour of his people, would accompany them in any trial to which they might be expoſed.

The enemy having by this time puſhed ſome of their works very near to the town, the Governor determined to try the effect of a cannonade with hot ſhot and ſhells upon them. The batteries of the place opened upon them on the morning of the eighth of September, and continued without intermiſſion,



Sir ROGER CURTIS.

Drawn from the life by Miller & Engraved by Birrell.

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miſſion during the beſt part of the day. The execution they did was beyond what had been expected. Two large batteries were ſet on fire and conſumed, together with various other works; and another battery was ſo much damaged, as to require a thorough re-conſtruction.

The loſs of men on the part of the beſiegers was very conſiderable, from the neceſſity they were under to lay themſelves open to the whole fire of the place, in order to extinguiſh the conflagration it had occaſioned. Their works were on fire at ſuch a multiplicity of places at the ſame time, that it was not without the extremeſt efforts they were able to ſtop its progreſs.

From this ſpecimen of the efficacy of red-hot balls, great hopes were now entertained by the garriſon that they would be able by the ſame means to ſucceed againſt the floating batteries.

In order to take revenge for the deſtruction they had ſuffered, the enemy opened next morning a battery of ſixty-four cannon of the largeſt dimenſions, which was ſhortly accompanied by a dreadful fire from other batteries, both of guns and mortars.—The number of the firſt employed this day exceeded one hundred, and of the ſecond threeſcore.

On that and the following day, nine ſail of the enemy's line of battle made an attack on the batteries that had been erected at Europa Point, ſo called from being the moſt ſouthern extremity of the European continent. Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf eminently during the courſe of the ſiege, commanded a large body of ſeamen, who were formed into a brigade, and did duty at the batteries on ſhore.—They were encamped near thoſe of Europa Point, which were entirely committed to their management. They ſerved them ſo effectually, that the enemy could make no impreſſion in that

quarter, and were forced to retire, after having received ſo much damage, that two of their principal ſhips were obliged to withdraw to the bay of Algeziras, oppoſite to Gibraltar, for the purpoſe of being repaired.

On the twelfth of September, the enemy were taken up with preparations for the enſuing day.—The combined fleets of France and Spain were ſeen ſteering through the Straits, and ſtanding in for the bay; where, on forming a junction with thoſe already there, they amounted to forty-eight ſail of the line, beſides four fifties, and a multitude of frigates. This was the moſt formidable armament ever ſeen in the bay of Gibraltar. The numbers employed by land and ſea at this period againſt that fortreſs, were eſtimated at above one hundred thouſand.

The thirteenth of September was the day deſtined to decide the fate of Gibraltar. Early in the morning, the ten floating batteries came forward, commanded by Don Buenventura de Moreno, a Spaniſh officer of great gallantry, and who had ſignaliſed himſelf at the taking of Minorca. The number of cannon mounted upon them amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-two, beſides the reſerves.—They had on board between five and ſix thouſand men. By ten o'clock they got into their appointed ſtations, anchoring in a line, at about a thouſand yards diſtance from the ſhore.

As ſoon as they were properly arranged, they began a heavy cannonade, and were ſeconded by all the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the ſame inſtant the garriſon opened all its batteries, both with hot and cold ſhot from the guns, and ſhells from the howitzers and mortars. This terrible fire continued without intermiſſion on either ſide until noon; when, to the great

own began to gain the ſuperiority, and that of the floating batteries began to ſlacken. About two o'clock the principal of theſe batteries, commanded in perſon by Don Moreno, was obſerved to emit ſmoke, as if on fire, and ſome men were ſeen buſy upon the roof, ſearching from whence it proceeded. Encouraged by this diſcovery, the fire from the garriſon was kept up without the leaſt diſcontinuance or diminution; while that from the floating batteries was perceived viſibly to decreaſe. About ſeven in the evening they fired but a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the Admiral's ſhip was plainly diſcovered beginning to burn, and an hour after it was completely in flames. Eight more of theſe batteries took fire ſucceſſively. Upon the ſignals of diſtreſs which they made, all the launches, feluccas, and boats of the enemy came up with all ſpeed to their aſſiſtance, and began to take the men out of the burning veſſels; but they ſoon met with interruption. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with the gun-boats, to take advantage of any favourable circumſtance, came upon them at two in the morning, and forming a line on the enemy's flank, advanced and fired upon them with ſuch order and expedition, as to throw them immediately into confuſion. They were ſo aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted at this ſudden and unexpected attack, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, totally abandoning the floating batteries, in which numbers of their people were left to periſh.

This would undoubtedly have been their fate, had not Captain Curtis, extricated them from the flames, at the imminent hazard of his life, and that of his men. The danger he encountered in order to ſave them was ſuch, that while his boat was along-ſide one of the largeſt floating batteries, it blew up, and the fragments of its wreck ſpreading to a vaſt circum-

ference, ſome heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat, and pierced through its bottom, killing one man, and wounding others. He eſcaped with difficulty out of this boat, which was ſunk, with another, through the ſame accident.

The number of individuals preſerved from deſtruction through the humane endeavours of the garriſon, amounted to about four hundred. Many of them were picked up floating on rafts and timbers. The blowing up of the batteries, as the flames reached their powder-rooms, and the diſcharge of their guns, as the metal became heated by the fire, rendered the ſaving of thoſe who were on board of them a very dangerous attempt. But the compaſſion excited by their diſtreſs, and the ſupplications they were ſeen to make by their geſtures, could not be reſiſted. The behaviour of the garriſon to theſe unfortunate people met with the warmeſt acknowledgments of the enemy; and, added to the noble defence they made on this memorable day, greatly contributed to raiſe the character of the Britiſh nation among the Spaniards and the French, and indeed through all Europe.

The floating batteries were every one conſumed. The violence of their exploſion was ſuch, as to burſt open doors and windows at a great diſtance aſhore. This was the terminating ſcene of this aweful and tremenduous buſineſs; the report of which had brought thouſands of ſpectators from all parts. The ſhores, the plains, the hills, in the vicinity of Gibraltar were crouded with multitudes, who had flocked hither in full expectation of being witneſſes of its reduction.

The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy was induſtriouſly concealed: but by a multitude of concurring proofs, it was evidently very great. Including wounded and priſoners, the former eſpecially, who filled their

thouſand: a heavy loſs, when it is conſidered that it conſiſted in a great meaſure of their moſt expert gunners and artillery-men.

The combined fleets of France and Spain were mere ſpectators of this cataſtrophe. It had been propoſed that they ſhould co-operate upon this intereſting occaſion, by attacking the garriſon at Europa Point, and in ſuch places as appeared moſt expoſed to an attempt by ſea. This, it has ſince been aſſerted, would have occaſioned a material diverſion of its force, and muſt, by dividing it, have weakened conſiderably the means of the vigorous defence that was made in thoſe parts that were actually attacked. The reaſon aſſigned for the inaction of the fleet was the want of wind.

The detriment ſuſtained by the garriſon in theſe various attempts of the enemy was ſo inconſiderable, as effectually to diſcourage the latter from proſecuting an enterprize in which they made ſo little progreſs. The impreſſion made on its works and defences, notwithſtanding the weight of metal and quantity of artillery employed againſt them was hardly perceptible. The liſt of ſlain and wounded ſince the middle of Auguſt, when the operations againſt the garriſon had been carried on with unuſual vigour, amounted only to one captain, and one lieutenant, with ſixty-five ſoldiers ſlain, and to twelve other officers, with three hundred and eighty ſoldiers wounded.

It is probable the thirteenth of September, eighty-two, will long be remembered in France and Spain. It put a final period to all the hopes that had been conceived of reducing Gibraltar by force. The repulſe which their braveſt troops and beſt officers met with on that day, both at ſea and land, was an humiliation that ſunk deep into their minds; eſpecially when it was reflected with how much preſumption in their own favour they had calculated the

time that Gibraltar would hold out, when aſſailed by the terrible machines which they had prepared for its deſtruction, and had confidently pronounced irreſiſtible. Twenty-four hours had to ſome appeared too long a ſpace to allow for oppoſition, and thoſe who were leſs ſanguine expoſed themſelves to cenſure. The Duke of Crillon himſelf was accuſed of affecting too much modeſty, in extending the garriſon's reſiſtance to a fortnight.

The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms at Gibraltar, confirmed the opinion which had generally taken place on the victory obtained in the Weſt-Indies by Admiral Rodney, that Great Britain would riſe ſuperior to all her enemies. The name of General Eliott became famous through all Europe. His conduct and bravery reflected the higheſt honour on the Britiſh nation; and he was juſtly deemed one of the principal ſupporters of its glory and fortune, in the midſt of the imminent perils that ſurrounded it on every ſide.

Still, however, another difficulty remained to be overcome, before Gibraltar could be conſidered as in a ſtate of ſecurity. Notwithſtanding the failure of their attempt on the thirteenth, the enemy were not without hope, that from want of ammunition and proviſions, the garriſon would at length be compelled to ſurrender, without any further exertion againſt it than the prevention of ſupplies. They were well acquainted with their diminution in that fortreſs. Its defence on the laſt attack had conſumed an immenſe quantity of powder and ball; no leſs than four thouſand ſhot had been expended, according to the enemy's account, on their floating batteries only. Several days previous to this, the fire of the garriſon had neceſſarily been very great, in order to cope with that of the beſiegers; which was ſo prodigious, as to have been computed at ſix thouſand cannon ſhot, and a thouſand ſhells every

twenty-four hours. Provisions were known also to be extremely scarce in the place.

Depending therefore on these deficiences, they continued closely to blockade it, and to cut off all communication. The only channel remaining for the conveyance of necessaries to the garrison was by sea, and they now looked upon themselves as masters on that element. They did not imagine that it would be possible for Great Britain to collect a naval force sufficient to dispossess them of the Bay of Gibraltar, before they had obliged it to surrender through distress; and the condition of the place was such, that they were entirely satisfied a few days would reduce it to the last extremity.

But the indispensible necessity of relieving the wants of the brave garrison that defended it, together with the high sense of honour that animated the British nation and Government for its preservation, overcame all obstacles. Such diligence was used, that a fleet was assembled at Portsmouth, consisting of thirty-five ships of the line, in excellent condition, and manned with the best officers and sailors in Europe. The command of it was given to Lord Howe; and he was accompanied by Admirals Barrington, Milbank, Hood, Sir Richard Hughes, and Commodore Hotham, all men of noted professional eminence.

It happened fortunately at this period, that a large fleet of merchantmen were safely arrived from the Baltic, and that a Dutch squadron, which had been cruizing on the coast of Holland, not finding it practicable to penetrate southwards to join the French, had retired into Port, and given up the intention of attempting such a junction during the present season.

When the British fleet sailed from Portsmouth, it left the nation in the utmost anxiety for the fate of Gibraltar. Contrary winds and unfa-

weather retarded its progreſs; and it was not till after gaining the ſouthern coaſt of Portugal, that it received information of the defeat of the enemy's attempt on the thirteenth of September.

On the 11th of October Lord Howe entered the Straits, and ſeveral of the ſtoreſhips deſtined for Gibraltar came ſafe to anchor under the cannon of that fortreſs, without moleſtation from the enemy.

A violent ſtorm ariſing during the night of the tenth, had occaſioned much damage in the combined fleet. Two ſhips of the line went aſhore near Algeziras; two more were driven out of the Bay into the Mediterranean; others loſt their maſts, and moſt of them ſuffered conſiderably. One in particular, a ſhip of ſeventy guns, was carried by the ſtorm acroſs the Bay, and ran aground under the works of Gibraltar, where ſhe was taken by the garriſon, with her whole complement of men, conſiſting of ſeven hundred. Notwithſtanding the endeavours of the enemy to deſtroy her, ſhe was ſafely got off, and put into a proper condition.

On the thirteenth the combined fleet put to ſea, with a view to prevent the remaining ſhore-ſhips, that had overſhot the Bay to the Eaſt, from making good their entrance into it, and at the ſame time to rejoin the two ſhips that had been ſeparated from the main body by the ſtorm. Having the advantage of the wind, they bore down upon the Britiſh fleet, which drew up in order of battle to receive them. Notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, they declined a near approach. On the wind becoming more favourable the next day to the Britiſh fleet, Lord Howe took that opportunity to paſs into the Bay the ſtoreſhips that were in company.

On the eighteenth, the remaining ſtoreſhips were conveyed to Gibraltar, the troops, for the reinforcement of the place were landed, with a large

A CHART of the STRAITS of GIBRALTAR

With the adjacent Ocean & Coasts of SPAIN & PORTUGAL.

Woodman & Mutlow sculp.
Rufsel Court.

PART OF PORTUGAL

PART OF SPAIN

GULF OF CADIZ

Sinas
Peciqueira I.
Villa Nova de Milfontes
Serdaon
Algesur
Carapateira
Alburdeira
Estombar
Villa Nova
Vincent
C. S.t Vincent
Lagos
Sagres
Lagos Bay
Alvalaya
Zanoal
Castillo
Albufeire
Corra de Guarteiro
Carroiro
Faro
Fanobillas
Tavira
Bias
Va Maria
Figuera
Barra de Faro
Cape S.t Mary
Mertola
Guadiana River
S.t Lucar de Guadiana
Alcoutim
La Blanca
Salt River
Castro Marin
Ayamont
Ricande de S.t Antonio
Guelva
Xaguera
Atalaja
Almargin
Rio Guadiano
I dos Caes
Guadalquivir River
Seville
Niquero
S.t Lucar
Regla
Chipiona
Rota
P.t S.t Mary
P. Sta Maria
CADIZ
Porto Rail
Chiliano
Merbilla
Estampona
S.t Roque
Cape Roque
Conil
Algesire or Old Gibraltar
Tariffa
GIBRALTAR
Cape Trafalgar
Bolonia
C. Carnero
Bay of Gibraltar
Europa Point
STRAITS OF GIBRALTAR

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Middle Hill
Signal house
Salto Garrobo
Cape Europe
Gibraltar P.t
Old Mole
New Mole
BAY OF GIBRALTAR
Old Gibraltar or Algesire
Cape Carnero
Scale of Miles
1 2 3

English & French Marine Leagues 20 to a Degree.
5 10 15 20

Tangier Bay
Ceuta
Centa P.t
Alcazar
Tangier
MOROCCO
Tetuan
AFRICA
Larache

9 8 7 6 5 W from London
38 37 36

ſupply of powder, and the wants of the garriſon amply provided for in every reſpect.

Having thus accompliſhed the purpoſe in view, Lord Howe prepared to avail himſelf of the favourable wind that ſtill continued, for returning thro' the Straits to the weſtward. But at break of day on the nineteenth, the combined fleet, which had given no interruption to the operations in the Bay, during the preceding days, appeared in ſight at a little diſtance from the Britiſh fleet, at that time between the points of Europa and Ceuta. As it had no room in that ſituation to form in order of battle, it repaſſed the Straits, and was followed by the enemy.

But though it conſiſted but of thirty-four ſhips of the line, which gave them, as they had forty-ſix, a ſuperiority of twelve, they ſtill retained the advantage of the wind. The Britiſh fleet formed to leeward to receive them, and they were left uninterruptedly to take the diſtance at which they ſhould think fit to engage. They did not however begin firing till ſunſet, directing it on the van and rear, and ſeeming to point their chief attack on the latter. They continued their fire along their whole line, at a conſiderable diſtance, and with little effect until ten at night. It was returned occaſionally from different ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, as the nearer approach of the enemy at times afforded an opportunity of making any impreſſion upon them.

What the French commanders had principally in view, was to cut off a part of the rear diviſion, which was conſiderably aback of the reſt; but on nearing it, they met with ſo ſpirited a reception, that they ſoon loſt the hope of ſucceeding, and deſiſted from their attempt, after ſuſtaining no ſmall damage.

Next morning the enemy was perceived at a great

Cadiz. Lord Howe having thus given the enemy a fair opportunity of engaging him, did not think it adviſeable to follow them. The end of his expedition had been fully anſwered, and his fleet was beginning to be ſhort of water and proviſions. For theſe reaſons he held on his courſe to England.

The victory obtained over the French fleet in the Weſt-Indies by Admiral Rodney, the repulſe of the French and Spaniards at Gibraltar by General Eliott, and the relieving of it by Lord Howe, in the face of ſo ſuperior an enemy, were the heavieſt blows that had been given to the confederacy againſt Great Britain. They wrought an entire new turn in the face of affairs both in Europe and America, and in a great meaſure decided the fate of the war. Through them the reputation of the Britiſh arms, and the honour of the Britiſh flag, were upheld with a ſplendour, that had never been exceeded in the moſt proſperous periods. They ſhewed, that the difficulties of the times, inſtead of depreſſing the genius of Britain, had called forth a ſpirit of exertion, that ſeemed to animate its fleets and armies in proportion as the obſtacles increaſed, with which they had to contend.

In the mean time, new veins of reſources, that had lain latent in the fulneſs of eaſe and ſecurity, were now brought to light, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the enemies of this country, who were annually prognoſticating the impoſſibility of its diſcovering any further means of continuing a reſiſtance that involved it in ſuch enormous expences. The impediments they met with themſelves, in providing for the ſupport of the war, taught them how formidable that rival muſt be, who could alone ſtand his ground againſt ſo many adverſaries.

Theſe various conſiderations operated ſo efficaciouſly on the powers at enmity with Britain, that they

nations they had been ſo ſanguine in forming to her detriment. She now recovered that weight and aſcendency which had appeared before to be on the decline. It was not only the ſtrength of her numerous foes, that had been impaired by her late ſucceſſes; the ſpirit and vigour with which they had acted hitherto was materially broken, and ſubſided in a degree that quickly became viſible to the world. This was an effect of the moſt eſſential conſequence, at a time when, notwithſtanding the firmneſs diſplayed by the nation, a ſafe and honourable termination of the war was earneſtly deſired by all the parties that had ſo long been at variance with each other, and that ſtill continued ſo fatally to divide it.

CHAP. LXVII.

Hoſtilities in America.—Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies.

1782.

IT happened very fortunately for the views of the American Congreſs, that the ſucceſſes obtained by the Britiſh arms were poſterior to that misfortune which had befallen them in Virginia, during the former campaign. The diſcouragement felt by the allies of America was ſuch, that had not that event taken place previouſly to the defeats which occaſioned this depreſſion, the coloniſts would ſtill, in all probability, have remained expoſed to the calamities they had ſo long endured, with no better proſpect of terminating them than before.

It was therefore, with ſufficient reaſon, they conſidered the preceding year as the epocha of their intire deliverance from all apprehenſions on the part of Great Britain. It had compleated the emancipation of the American Continent, and left all the colonies in a ſituation of permanent ſecurity, with reſpect to the main objects for which they had been ſo vigorouſly contending.

Still, however, they were not freed from that ſtate of war, in which although no deſtruction is apprehended, yet perplexities cannot fail to ariſe, and a multitude of inconveniences enſue, as well to the public as to individuals.

Notwithſtanding the failure of the expedition againſt Virginia, and the reduction of the forces employed againſt that Province, the remains of that gallant army, which had performed ſuch great things in the Carolinas, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the capital of the ſouthern part, and overawed the

Lord Rawdon, after the temporary ceſſation of hoſtilities, occaſioned by the exceſſive heat and unwholeſomeneſs of the ſummer months in the preceding year, had, upon his departure for England, left the command of the Britiſh troops to Colonel Stuart. As ſoon as the violence of the weather was abated, they took the field, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of General Greene. That vigilant and active officer had aſſembled a large body of troops, and deſcending from the upper country, was on his march to the Congaree, with an intention to paſs it, and attack the Colonel in the poſt he occupied on the banks of that river, at a place called Maccord's Ferry.

The Britiſh troops were at this time in very diſadvantageous circumſtances. They were afflicted with illneſs, and in want of proviſions. In this condition, however, they were obliged to exert uncommon activity to prevent a ſupply that was coming to their camp, from being intercepted.—They moved for this purpoſe to a place called Eutaw Springs, where, from the goodneſs of the ſituation, Colonel Stuart determined to make a ſtand, and eſtabliſh a poſt.

General Greene, who penetrated into his deſign, marched with all expedition to attack him, before he could accompliſh it. His force conſiſted of about four thouſand well diſciplined men. The Britiſh troops were computed at two thouſand. On intelligence of General Greene's approach, they met him at three miles from their camp in order of battle.

The engagement began between eight and nine in the morning, and continued till about one. It reſembled in many particulars the action at Guildford, from the diverſified manner in which it was fought, ſometimes in open, ſometimes in woody ground, and from the broken and detached con-

flicts that took place between both parties, as they happened to be ſeparated from their reſpective main bodies by the nature of the different ſpots on which they were engaged.

From the ſuperiority of the enemy's number, and the frequent attacks of their numerous cavalry, the Britiſh troops found it neceſſary to make a retreating fight as far as their camp. The Americans followed them cloſe, and attempted to force it. They charged with their bayonets, and behaved with unuſual intrepidity; but the reſiſtance they met was ſo judiciouſly conducted, that, notwithſtanding the obſtinacy of their attack, they were not able to ſucceed.

The ground on which the Britiſh troops were poſted afforded them ſeveral advantages. They had taken poſſeſſion of a large and ſtrong brick houſe upon it, from which the enemy were not able to diſlodge them. They had alſo occupied a buſhy field, ſo thick ſet, that the American cavalry, after repeated attempts to break in upon them, was repulſed with great loſs, and Colonel Waſhington, who commanded them, was wounded, and made priſoner.

After a long and ſevere action, wherein both ſides diſplayed the higheſt reſolution, General Greene was obliged to withdraw his men. The fire from the houſe was however ſo heavy, that after loſing thoſe who ſerved two pieces of cannon that had been brought againſt it, and who were ſlain upon the ſpot, they were compelled to retire without them.

Their killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to about one thouſand. They carried off however moſt of their wounded, and retreated in good order to ſeven miles diſtance from the field of battle.

But notwithſtanding the Britiſh troops were victorious, their want of cavalry prevented them from improving their ſucceſs, and that of the Ameri-

cans covered their retreat so effectually, that they could not be pursued.

Another circumstance contributed greatly to favour the Americans. The British troops had been some days in much want of bread. To supply that deficiency, parties were sent out every morning to collect potatoes, as far as they could venture into the country. It happened unfortunately, that on the very morning of the action, three or four hundred men employed in this business were way-laid by the enemy, and fell into their hands, to the material diminution of the British army, which greatly experienced the want of them in the engagement that immediately followed.

From the scantiness of provision, and the necessity of providing for the safety of the sick and wounded, who were in considerable numbers, together with the reduced state of his force in consequence of the fight, and of the accident that preceded it, Colonel Stuart deemed it proper to draw nearer to Charlestown.

General Greene, on perceiving this motion, detached a large body to harass the British troops on their march; but they found them in such compact order, and so well prepared, that they thought it unadvisable to give them any molestation.

These transactions, which took place about the middle of September, eighty-one, put a period to all military operations of any consequence in the southern Colonies. From this time both the Americans and the British troops stationed upon that continent seem to have considered themselves as spectators of the great and important events that fell out in the other parts of the globe during the remainder of the contest.

These however were not viewed by either of them, or the rest of the world, as of a nature to bring

Colonies. The revolution which had ſevered them from the Britiſh empire was univerſally looked upon as completely effected. The only objects yet undecided were of a collateral kind, and could not in their future ſettlement affect but in a ſecondary manner the great ſyſtem already eſtabliſhed.

While the deſtiny of this vaſt portion of the Britiſh empire underwent ſuch a deciſion in the Weſt, the fate of its immenſe poſſeſſions in the Eaſt ſtill hung in ſuſpenſe. The ſucceſſes obtained over Hyder Ally, and his French and Dutch allies were great; but the reſources of this Indian Prince, ſupported by his uncommon abilities, and the aſſiſtance he was to derive from theſe two confederates, were matters of ſérious conſideration to the Engliſh, who were contending againſt both in India, and whoſe ſituation, tho' not unproſperous at the preſent hour, might ſtill be conſidered as critical.

They could not readily forget to what extremities he had reduced them, and with what difficulty they had emerged from them, contrary to the expectation of their enemies, and almoſt their own.—They knew that France would ſtrain every nerve for their ruin, and that a powerful ſquadron was now in the Indian ſeas, prepared to co-operate with the naval ſtrength of Holland againſt them on that element, while Hyder Ally renewed his attacks by land.

In the mean time, the preceding campaign had terminated highly to their advantage. Excluſive of the victories obtained over Hyder Ally in the field, they had concluded it by the capture of the principal ſettlement of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel. The loſs of Negapatam was the ſevereſt blow theſe could have received in this quarter; and beſides the intrinſic detriment done to their intereſt, had greatly diſpirited them.

While they were yet under the impreſſions occaſioned by ſo ſevere and unexpected a loſs, Sir Edward Hughes reſolved to execute the project he had in view againſt Trincomale, in the iſland of Ceylon, one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of Holland in the Indian ocean.

This Dutch ſettlement is ſituated on the northern coaſt of that iſland, verging to the eaſt: it lies on a ſpacious and ſecure bay, which with ſeveral others adjoining to it, forms the moſt capacious ſea-port in all India. The ſpices it produces, eſpecially cinnamon, render it, in point of value, one of the richeſt acquiſitions that ever fell into the hands of that induſtrious people.

Theſe were ſufficient motives to induce the Britiſh Admiral to proceed with all convenient expedition againſt a place of which the reduction would be attended with ſo many advantages. As ſoon as he had weathered out the monſoon, that ſet in immediately aftet the ſurrender of Negapatam, he ſailed for Trincomale, where he arrived about the beginning of January, eighty-two.

Having taken poſſeſſion of the principal bay, he landed a detachment of ſeamen, marines, and ſelected ſepoys, who under the command of Captain Gell, of the Monarca, marched directly to the fort called Trincomale. They ſoon maſtered it, to the great ſatisfaction of the Admiral, as it commanded the chief landing-place, and enabled him to ſet aſhore whatever would be requiſite for the attack againſt Fort Oſtenburgh, the principal place of ſtrength upon the iſland, and by the capture of which the ſettlement would be completely reduced.

This fort ſtands on a lofty hill, overlooking and commanding the harbour. But in its vicinity another hill aroſe ſuperior to it in height, and only within two hundred yards of the fort. Of this a

ſeſſion, Sir Edward Hughes ſent a ſummons of ſurrender to the Dutch Governor, repreſenting to him the inutility of making any defence after the loſs of ſuch a poſt, from whence the fort muſt undoubtedly be battered to pieces, as ſoon as the cannon for that purpoſe had been planted. But the Governor's anſwer was, that he was bound in duty and honour to defend the fort to the laſt extremity.

It was the earneſt wiſh of Sir Edward Hughes and his officers to avoid ſhedding the blood of people with whom they had lately been upon a footing of kindneſs. Before the rupture with Holland, various interchanges of friendlineſs and hoſpitality had taken place between the Dutch and the Engliſh who frequented that harbour. Many, if not moſt of the gentlemen belonging to the Britiſh ſquadron, had received civilities from the officers of the garriſon. An intimate acquaintance ſubſiſted between Sir Edward Hughes and Mr. Homed the governor of the ſettlement.

From theſe motives, the Britiſh Admiral warmly preſſed that gentleman to deſiſt from a defence which he muſt be conſcious would be needleſs. He urged him by every reaſon which friendſhip and humanity could plead: but his ſolicitations were ineffectual; the Dutch governor perſiſting in the determination to hold out to the laſt.

As compulſion was now become neceſſary, it was determined to attempt the ſtorming of the lower parts of the fort; theſe, upon inſpection, appeared liable to be carried in this manner, which was preferred to a regular attack, on account of the time it would conſume, and the labour it would require to convey a ſufficient number of battering pieces to that eminence overlooking Oſtenburgh fort, of which poſſeſſion had been taken.

A party of ſeamen and marines was therefore ſelected for the aſſailing of the

by the taking of which it was not doubted the place would be ſoon obliged to ſurrender. This party advanced at early dawn in great order and ſilence to the fort. The van had the good fortune to arrive at the foot of the outward wall undiſcovered. Entering through the embraſures unperceived, it was immediately ſeconded by the whole body. The enemy, thus ſurpriſed, were not able to make any effectual reſiſtance, and after being driven from their defences, were obliged to ſubmit.

The loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh party in this bold enterprize did not exceed threeſcore killed and wounded. That of the Dutch was very inconſiderable, as the victors gave quarter the moment the enemy demanded it. The acquiſitions made on this occaſion were two Indiamen, richly laden, beſides a number of ſmaller trading veſſels, that lay in the harbour under protection of the fort, and which ſurrendered as ſoon as they ſaw it taken. The fort itſelf was well provided with artillery, and contained a large quantity of ammunition and military ſtores. The priſoners amounted to about four hundred Europeans.

The capture of Trincomale was the ſecond blow given to the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies by Sir Edward Hughes. It was heavily felt in Holland; where, on receiving intelligence of this loſs, the clamours againſt the war with Great Britain became greater than ever. The complaint urged with the moſt vehemence by thoſe who diſapproved of it, was, that by embracing the cauſe of France, Holland had not only met with grievous loſſes, but had incurred the greateſt misfortune that could befal an independent ſtate. It was now forced to look up to France for protection, and had thereby forfeited its conſequence in Europe. It had by this imprudent ſtep diſcovered its internal weakneſs, and now lay at the mercy not only of the enemy it had made by its com-

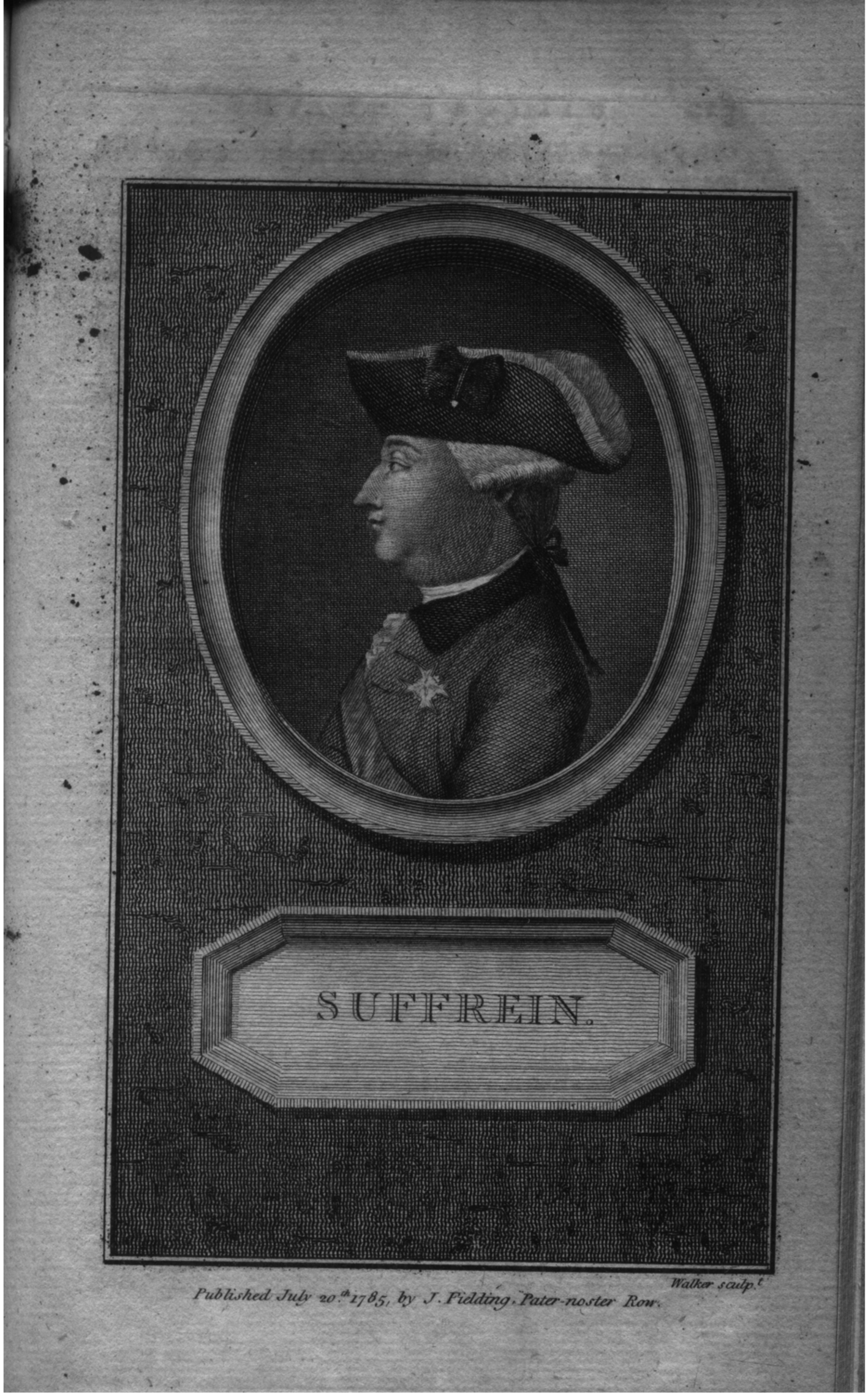
complaiſance to the French court, but even at the mercy of France itſelf.

In the mean time, Mr. De Suffrein, at the head of a ſquadron of eleven ſail of the line and ſeveral ſtout frigates, was making the utmoſt expedition for the coaſt of Coromandel. On his way thither, he fell in with and took the Hannibal of fifty guns, which had been unhappily ſeparated from the ſquadron that was coming to the reinforcement of Sir Edward Hughes.

The French Admiral had been informed, that the ſquadron under this officer conſiſted only of ſix ſhips of the line. In expectation of finding him in this ſtate of inferiority, he haſted to Madras, in order to attack him before the arrival of thoſe ſhips from which the Hannibal had parted. He appeared off that ſettlement on the fifteenth of February 1782. His force, including the Hannibal, was now compoſed of twelve ſhips of the line, ſix ſtrong frigates, eight large tranſports full of troops, and ſix Britiſh prizes.

Happily for Sir Edward Hughes, he had been joined by thoſe ſhips which M. de Suffrein imagined were ſtill at a diſtance. They were three in number; a ſeventy-four, a ſixty-four, and a fifty. They found him in Madras road, whither he had repaired ſhortly after the reduction of Trincomale, to take in ſtores and proviſions, and put his ſick aſhore. With this addition he now reckoned nine ſail of the line.

Mr. De Suffrein had promiſed himſelf an eaſy victory over the ſmall ſquadron he had expected to encounter. He was therefore very diſagreeably ſurprized at the ſight of the ſhips under Sir Edward Hughes drawn up to receive him. After coming to an anchor about four miles off Madras,



Walker sculp.t

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had entirely abandoned the design of attacking the Britiſh ſquadron.

But Sir Edward Hughes, notwithſtanding his inferiority, immediately ſtood after him, and followed him during the remainder of that day, and the whole of the night. At day-light he perceived that the enemy's tranſports were making for Pondichery under the protection of their frigates, and that their line of battle ſhips were collected in a body at about twelve miles diſtance.

Sir Edward Hughes hereupon made a ſignal to chace the frigates and veſſels in their company. Six of them were taken, five being Engliſh prizes; but the ſixth was a French tranſport of fifteen hundred tons, laden with a numerous train of field artillery, and a prodigious quantity of gunpowder and military ſtores, beſides near three hundred regulars, and a number of land officers.

Had Sir Edward Hughes been better ſupplied with frigates, it is probable the whole French convoy would have been taken. But the neceſſity of inſtantly facing the enemy's line of battle, which was now bearing down upon him, for the aſſiſtance of their tranſports, obliged him to recal ſuch of his own line of battle ſhips as were in purſuit of them.

The reſidue of the day was employed in various movements on both ſides. The reſpective ſquadrons kept near each other during the enſuing night. On the ſeventeenth, at noon, Mr. De Suffrein perceiving the rear diviſion of the Britiſh ſquadron unable for want of wind to keep up with the reſt, directed his attack upon that part alone. Eight of the enemy's ſhips bore down upon it. Sir Edward Hughes was the only one of thoſe who were a-head of the rear that could give it aſſiſtance. Upon him and Commodore King the efforts of the French chiefly fell. Each had two and ſometimes three

veſſels of the enemy to contend with. Their main deſign was to cut off the Commodore's ſhip, which was a bad ſailer: To this intent they kept ſo violent a fire upon her, that they had almoſt reduced her to a wreck; when the wind about ſix o'clock in the afternoon coming round more favourably to the Engliſh, they took that opportunity to diſengage the Commodore, and to attack the enemy with more advantage. They did it ſo vigorouſly, that in leſs than half an hour they compelled them to withdraw.

The two Britiſh ſhips againſt which the enemy chiefly directed their fire, thoſe of the Admiral and the Commodore, ſuffered greatly in this action; but thoſe that attacked them ſuffered no leſs. The loſs of men in the Britiſh ſquadron amounted to little more than one hundred and thirty killed and wounded; but the ſame liſt on board the French exceeded two hundred and fifty, among whom a captain was ſlain. Two brave and experienced officers fell on the ſide of the Engliſh; Captains Stephens and Reynolds. The firſt commanded the Admiral's ſhip, the ſecond that of the Commodore.

The fight having terminated with the cloſe of day, Sir Edward Hughes lay preparing till next morning for a renewal of it; but the French fleet was then entirely out of ſight. Upon which he proceeded to Trincomale, in order to repair the damages his ſquadron had received.

This being accompliſhed with all expedition, he returned to Madras; from whence, on receiving no tidings of Mr. De Suffrein, he haſted back to Trincomale, with ſupplies of men and ammunition for that garriſon, which he had been apprized was threatened by the enemy, and at the ſame time to meet a convoy from England with ſtores and reinforcements.

Mr. De Suffrein, who had been informed of this convoy's approach, was alſo on his way to intercept it. He was deſcried on the 8th of April. He could not however prevent Sir Edward Hughes from making the coaſt of Ceylon: But before the Britiſh ſquadron could reach the harbour of Trincomale, the French had an opportunity of gaining the wind of them; and on the twelfth found themſelves in ſo advantageous a poſition, and the Engliſh in ſo dangerous a one, that they did not heſitate to bear down upon them in order of battle.

The Britiſh ſquadron lay cloſe on a lee-ſhore, full of rocks and ſhoals on the one ſide; and to windward an enemy, ſuperior in ſtrength, was preſſing upon it in various directions. Mr. De Suffrein having made ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſhips as he thought moſt advantageous, ordered his van diviſion to attack that of Sir Edward Hughes. Himſelf, with the remainder of his ſquadron, aſſailed the Britiſh Admiral. He ſingled him out, and accompanied by another veſſel, lay along-ſide of him a quarter of an hour; during which he kept up a very heavy fire; but his veſſel received ſo much damage in that ſhort ſpace, that making room for others to continue the engagement with the Britiſh admiral, he ſhifted his flag to another veſſel, and proceeded to the aſſiſtance of two French ſhips in cloſe fight with a Britiſh one, of which he perceived the reſiſtance would require the additional efforts of his own, to be overcome. This was the Monmouth, of ſixty-four guns, Captain Alms, who, after ſuſtaining with great reſolution this unequal conflict, was, in conſequence of his maſts being ſhot away, compelled to drop to leeward out of the line; and would have been captured, had not Sir Edward Hughes haſted with his own and two other ſhips to his protection.

The fight continued with equal vigour on both ſides till towards dark; when the Britiſh ſquadron being only in fifteen fathoms water, Sir Edward Hughes thought it neceſſary for the ſecurity of his ſquadron to come to an anchor. The French ſquadron finding itſelf at the ſame time much damaged, drew off to a conſiderable diſtance.

Both parties had ſuffered ſo much in this action, that neither of them were in a condition to renew it. They lay ſeveral days in ſight of each other, repairing their reſpective damages, and obſerving reciprocally their motions.

The French at length thinking probably that their own ſhips had not been ſo much hurt in their rigging as thoſe of the Engliſh, and were conſequently more manageable, bore down in a line of battle upon them; but on diſcovering how well they were prepared, they ſtood off, and kept their courſe till night coming on, they could no longer be ſeen.

Had the poſition of the Engliſh been leſs unfavourable, it is probable they would have obtained ſome very decided advantages, eſpecially as they had lately been reinforced by two ſhips of the line. The number of their killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and ſixty-ſeven; of theſe one hundred and forty-ſeven belonged to the Monmouth: ſo obſtinately had ſhe been aſſailed by the enemy.

It was remarked, that notwithſtanding the French commander ſought this action, none of his ſhips, thoſe excepted that were in his own diviſion, ventured to near the Britiſh ſquadron ſufficiently for cloſe action. They kept at a cautious diſtance from every part of it but the center, though it was obvious that they might have approached on all ſides with much advantage, having the wind in their favour, and the Engliſh being ſo land-locked, as to ſtand more in apprehenſion on that account than in

ſlain and wounded was not leſs than that of the Engliſh; but the condition of their ſhips was much worſe: that of M. de Suffrein and two others were ſo diſabled, as to compel him, by his own confeſſion, to ceaſe the engagement.

Both theſe actions, though indeciſive in regard to the reſpective ſquadrons, were however convincing proofs of the naval ſuperiority of the Britiſh officers and ſeamen. They had withſtood a ſuperior force, commanded by one of the moſt reſolute men in France, and one who was known to harbour a particular enmity to the Engliſh. He had diſplayed uncommon courage in both engagements, and had exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed him no leſs an able commander than a determined foe: yet his failure was complete in both, and he reaped no other benefit than the acquiſition of much perſonal honour.

This ſtate of affairs was very alarming to Hyder Ally. He had formed the higheſt expectations from an alliance with France. He had been promiſed a conſiderable body of French regulars, who were now ſtationed in the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be tranſported to India by the firſt conveyance, but only a ſmall detachment of them had been landed; and the arrival of the reſt was yet a matter of uncertainty, conſidering the difficulties that would be thrown in their way by the naval force under Sir Edward Hughes.

This proſpect was the more mortifying to Hyder Ally, as his fortune ſeemed much on the decline at land. While the Britiſh ſquadron was oppoſing with ſo much vigour and efficacy the deſigns of M. de Suffrein on the coaſt of Coromandel, the army of Hyder Ally, that had held the Engliſh ſettlement of Tellicherry, on the coaſt of Malabar, blockaded ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, had made ſo little progreſs, that he began to

loſe all hope of reducing it otherwiſe than by famine. To this purpoſe his troops ſurrounded it on every ſide, and cut off all its communications.

In the beginning of the year eighty-two, it was determined by the Preſidency of Bombay to raiſe the ſiege. Sir Edward Hughes had in the preceding year been of effectual ſervice in ſuccouring and putting it in a condition to reſiſt the enemy. But it was now ſo cloſely preſſed, that it was neceſſary to take the moſt deciſive meaſures for its relief.—Major Abingdon was placed for this purpoſe at the head of a powerful reinforcement, with which he proceeded by ſea to Tellicherry. Having reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy, he determined to collect all the troops that could be ſpared from the neceſſary guard of the town, and to attack them in their own works. Early on the morning of the eighth of January, he came upon them ſo unexpectedly, that they were driven from all their lines, and fled to their camp. This was aſſaulted with equal ſucceſs. Saddos Cawn, a relation of Hyder Ally, and who commanded his troops on this occaſion, was, after an obſtinate defence taken priſoner, with above fifteen hundred of his men.—Four hundred were ſlain on the ſpot, and a large quantity of proviſions, artillery, ammunition, and military ſtores, with a conſiderable ſum of money, fell into the hands of the victors.

This ſucceſs gave the Engliſh entire poſſeſſion of all the territory adjacent to Tellicherry, and opened a communication with the Britiſh poſts in the neighbourhood. But what was of more conſequence, it led to an entrance into the principal countries under the dominion of Hyder Ally, and made a diverſion which occaſioned him much diſquietude. Tellicherry was a poſt from whence they might be annoyed with facility, and it would

require a powerful army to recover and maintain the ground he had loſt in its neighbourhood.

But the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in this quarter, though of great importance, was heavily counterbalanced ſhortly after on the coaſt of Coromandel. A detachment of choſen troops from Sir Eyre Coote's army lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, a river that bounds the diſtrict of Tanjour to the north. It was ſtationed there for the protection of the Company's poſſeſſions to the ſouth of Madras, which were menaced with an invaſion as ſoon as Hyder Ally's army ſhould be drawn together again in theſe parts.

Tippoo Saib having made himſelf complete maſter of all the circumſtances relating to the ſtrength and ſituation of this detachment, conceived the deſign of attacking it, before it could be apprized of his intention, and while it thought itſelf in a ſtate of entire ſecurity, from the great diſtance of Hyder Ally's army at this time.

In order to make the greater expedition, he ſet forwards with a leſs numerous body of men than uſual, and with as little incumbrance as poſſible: but they were the flower of Hyder Ally's army.—They conſiſted of near fifteen thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, and were accompanied by a corps of French regulars. The difficulties of their march were many, but they overcame them with great patience; and croſſing the Coleroon, ſuddenly ſurrounded the Britiſh detachment.

It conſiſted of two thouſand infantry, and about three hundred cavalry, and was commanded by Colonel Brathwaite, a brave and expert officer, whoſe conduct on this occaſion was equally judicious and reſolute.

The enemy ſurrounding him on every ſide, he formed his men into a ſquare, with their

distributed to their several fronts, and his cavalry in the center. Tippoo Saib attacked him every where, and endeavoured by means of his superior artillery to break his ranks, in order to rush in with his horse; but after a conflict that lasted almost three days, he could make no impression on the British troops. They returned the fire of his musketry and cannon with the utmost intrepidity and vigour, and repulsed successively every effort of his horse to break in upon them.

It was chiefly on these Tippoo Saib relied. He led them in person with great courage; but they were received on their approach with such vollies of grape-shot and musket-fire, that they were constantly thrown into disorder, and forced to retreat. On these occasions the cavalry in the center sallied out upon them, and did great execution.

On the third day of this obstinate engagement, M. Lally finding this method of attack ineffectual, projected another. Rightly conjecturing that the fatigue endured by this handful of men must have greatly exhausted their strength, as well as that so desperate a service must have thinned their numbers, he proposed to Tippoo Saib that the French infantry, which was fresh and entire, should charge one of the fronts of the square, while the three other fronts should be assailed at the same instant by his own troops.

This new plan of attack was executed with all possible vigour. M. Lally headed his men with great spirit. They were supported by flanking parties of Tippoo Saib's best infantry, and a furious discharge of his artillery, most of which was brought up to second this attempt.

It was completely decisive. Though the British troops remained unbroken by the three other attacks, that were made together at the same time, they

toil, and oppreſſed with wounds, and conſiſting moſtly of Sepoys, they were no longer able to reſiſt the weight of a ſuperior number of European regulars, coming freſh into action, charging them with their bayonets, and aſſiſted by numerous bodies of men preſſing upon them from all ſides.

The behaviour of M. Lally upon this occaſion did him ſingular honour. As ſoon as the Britiſh troops were broken, he iſſued immediate orders that quarters ſhould be given to them. Great ſlaughter had enſued on the firſt breaking in of Tippoo Saib's cavalry, but he exerted ſomuch authority, and interpoſed ſo effectually, that a ſtop was put to their rage, and no further effuſion of blood was permitted. He even obtained of Tippoo Saib that the priſoners ſhould be entruſted to his care, and treated them with a generoſity and attention that greatly added to his character.

This was almoſt as fatal a day to the Engliſh as that whereon Colonel Baillie had been defeated.—A number of Britiſh officers periſhed in this unhappy engagement, and only one remained unwounded.—Colonel Brathwaite diſplayed a ſpirit, as well as a conduct, worthy of a better fortune. Though wounded, and loſing much blood, he ſtill continued to act with the utmoſt coolneſs and reſolution. After his example, both officers and men perſiſted to the laſt in making every effort that courage could inſpire; and though they loſt the day, were acknowledged, even by their conquerors, to have gained more reputation by their defence, than they themſelves had acquired by their victory.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies.

1872.

THE diſaſter that had befallen the Britiſh arms on the banks of the Coleroon greatly revived the courage and hopes of Hyder Ally. He received an additional motive of ſatisfaction, by the ſucceſs his forces met with, in conjunction with thoſe French troops that came from the French iſlands off the Cape of Good Hope with Mr. De Suffrein.

As ſoon as this long expected junction had been formed, they proceeded under the command of Mr. Duchemin to inveſt Cuddalore, a place of ſtrength, but which not being ſufficiently provided for a ſiege, ſurrendered on capitulation. They took in the ſame manner ſome other poſts of ſmaller importance; after which, being joined by Hyder Ally at the head of a numerous army, he determined to lay ſiege to Vandiwaſh, a place of great importance, and the loſs of which would prove of eſſential detriment to the Engliſh.

The dangerous ſituation of their affairs in India, had a long time exerciſed the attention of the ſupreme ſeat of government at Bengal. The main conſidération, amidſt of the many difficulties wherein they were involved, was to bring about a ſeparate accommodation with the Mahrattas; the gaining of which point would enable them to direct their whole ſtrength and efforts againſt Hyder Ally, whom they viewed as a more implacable, as well as a more potent and formidable enemy.

An opening to a general pacification with the Mahrattas had already been made by a treaty previouſly concluded with Madajee Scindia, one of the moſt conſiderable chiefs of that nation. This was the more favourable an event, as the abilities of that Prince, and his friendly diſpoſition towards the Engliſh, had been ſignalized upon ſeveral occaſions to their ſingular benefit.

Through his mediation, terms of reconciliation were at length ſettled between the reſidue of his countrymen and the Engliſh. Theſe terms were extremely favourable to the latter. Among other particulars, the former engaged themſelves to oblige Hyder Ally to reſtore to the Engliſh and their allies all the places he had taken from them. The priſoners made both by him and them to be comprehended in this article. On his acceding to, and fulfilling theſe ſtipulations, and remaining at peace with the Engliſh, as well as their allies and the Mahrattas, they were to abſtain from all acts of enmity againſt him.

But the moſt important article of this treaty was, that by which the Mahrattas agreed to permit no other European nation to ſettle factories in any part of their dependencies. As a compenſation for this conceſſion, the Engliſh were bound on the other hand, to afford no aſſiſtance or countenance whatſoever to any Indian ſtate or nation at enmity with the Mahrattas, as they were by the ſame rule to give none to the enemies of the Engliſh. This negociation, which was highly beneficial to the Engliſh, and eſtabliſhed their power and intereſt in India upon the ſecureſt and moſt permanent foundations, was owing in a very eſſential meaſure to the talents and activity, exerted upon this critical occaſion by Mr. Anderſon, deputed for this purpoſe by the Governor and Council at Bengal. It was concluded and ſign-

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ed by both parties about the middle of May eighty-two.

The concluſion of this treaty was a ſevere blow to Hyder Ally. He now beheld the only enemy whom he conſidered as the main obſtruction to his deſigns, releaſed from the principal incumbrance that perplexed their operations againſt him. They were now totally freed from that powerful diverſion, which their war with the Mahrattas had occaſioned in his favour. Thoſe, of whom he had found the alliance ſo efficacious in the proſecution of his preſent plan, were now to become his enemies, and to co-operate againſt him in defeating it. He knew, at the ſame time, that the jealouſy entertained of his power and projects, would not fail to raiſe him other adverſaries, as ſoon as it became apparent that they could declare themſelves with ſafety. His dependence on the aſſiſtance of the French did not, on the other hand, ſeem juſtly founded. He had received the greateſt promiſes from that quarter; but his underſtanding was too ſolid not to judge, that their power was inadequate to the performance of them. Facts were too ſtrong againſt them, to imagine that through their means his affairs could be re-eſtabliſhed. It was only by gaining a decided ſuperiority at ſea that the Engliſh could be ſubdued; and he had been witneſs that, with an inferior naval force, they had ſucceſsfully oppoſed the French on that element. Hence he naturally foreſaw, that as ſoon as they were ſufficiently reinforced, they would compel the French to give up all further attempts to aid him; the conſequence of which would be the total defeat of the ſyſtem he had ſo long and ſo aſſiduouſly been labouring to eſtabliſh.

To theſe conſiderations it was chiefly owing, that, notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes which his ſon Tippoo Saib and the French troops added to his own had

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met with, he acted with so much circumspection, and appeared so unwilling to hazard any general action with the English.

Upon Hyder Alley's moving towards Vandiwash, Sir Eyre Coote marched immediately to protect it from an attack, not doubting, from the force now assembled under that Prince, that he would risk an engagement sooner than give up an attempt on which he appeared so intent. But the consequences of a defeat in the field were so greatly apprehended by him, that he did not dare to commit his fortune to such a trial: Neither did he seem to place much reliance on the French auxiliaries in his army. Whatever might be the motive, he considered them as greatly inferior to the English in their military character.

On Hyder Ally's declining an engagement, in support of his design against Vandiwash, Sir Eyre Coote determined to take such measures as might compel him to one. As he was so strongly posted, that it appeared impracticable to dislodge him, he made a motion towards a place of great strength, called Arnee, which was the principal deposit of provisions, warlike stores, and necessaries for that Prince's army. The preservation of this place obliged Hyder Ally to quit his advantageous ground. He advanced with such speed, that he came upon the British army unawares, while it was preparing for the last march to Arnee, from which it was no more than five miles distant.

Hyder Ally's conduct upon this occasion was equally cautious and resolute. The British army's march was through low grounds, encompassed on most parts with high hills. Of these he took immediate possession. He planted his cannon upon them, and kept up a heavy fire upon the British troops below, while his numerous cavalry attacked

till noon; the enemy perſiſting with great vigour to cannonade them from the eminences above, and to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to throw them into diſorder, and break their line, by means of the repeated attempts of their horſemen on the plain.

Under all theſe diſadvantages, Sir Eyre Coote formed his army into ſuch an order of battle, as enabled him to cloſe in with the enemy much ſooner and nearer than they had apprehended. The action now became ſerious and deciſive. The reſiſtance made by Hyder Ally's people was long and obſtinate; but it only proved the ſuperiority of the Britiſh troops. Their diſcipline and valour, together with the judicious diſpoſitions made by their General, rendered them at length completely victorious. The enemy were intirely routed, and put to flight. This engagement happened on the ſecond of June, eighty-two.

But notwithſtanding this overthrow, Hyder Ally ſtill kept the field, though at a diſtance. As the want of cavalry prevented Sir Eyre Coote from purſuing his advantages, that Prince could never be thoroughly defeated. As his own cavalry was exceedingly numerous, by its means he always covered his retreats ſo effectually, as to loſe but few men in making them, and to be in a condition, within a ſhort time, to act upon the offenſive. This was ſignally proved on the preſent occaſion. Five days after the preceding engagement he circumvented an advanced body of the Britiſh army, which was ſurrounded and cut off before it could receive any aſſiſtance. He harraſſed it at the ſame time in ſuch a manner, as to compell it to ſtand perpetually upon its guard, and hardly to enjoy any reſpite.

The difficulty of ſubſiſting, and the neceſſity of providing for the relief of the many who were either ſick or wounded, together with the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, induced Sir Eyre Coote to move

nearer to Madras. His own ill ſtate of health obliged him ſhortly after to relinquiſh the command of the Britiſh forces, which fell to General Stuart.

The vaſt projects of Hyder Ally meeting with theſe continual obſtructions and diſcomfitures at land, he was now reduced, to his great mortification, to depend for their ſucceſs on the better fortune of his French allies at ſea.

After the action of the twelfth of April, between the Britiſh and French ſquadrons, the latter withdrew to Batacalo, an harbour in the Iſle of Ceylon, where the repairing of their ſhips employed the French till the beginning of June. They now returned to the coaſt of Coromandel, where their ſquadron was amply ſupplied with proviſions by the Dutch; and received a large reinforcement of men, among whom were ſome hundreds of gunners, from the French who were ſtationed at Cuddalore, which was now become their principal poſt and harbour on the coaſt of Coromandel.

It was the earneſt deſire and advice of Hyder Ally to Mr. De Suffrein, that as he had a deciſive ſuperiority in number of ſhips, he ſhould loſe no time in ſeeking the Britiſh ſquadron, and fighting it, before that re-inforcement ſhould arrive, which was daily expected from England, and was reported to be very conſiderable.

The Britiſh ſquadron was at that time at Negapatam, whither Sir Edward Hughes had repaired from Trincomale, as ſoon as he had refitted his ſhips, and been informed of the departure of the French ſquadron from Batacalo.

On the fifth of July Mr. De Suffrein came in ſight of Negapatam. On his appearance Sir Edward Hughes immediately put to ſea, and ſtood after him. The evening and night were ſpent in gaining the wind of the enemy. This being ac-

compliſhed, the Britiſh fleet bore down upon the French, and commenced a cloſe action, about half an hour paſt ten in the morning. It continued with great warmth on both ſides till near one in the afternoon; when the French ſhips having received much damage, were thrown into great diſorder, one of them, a principal ſhip, being obliged to quit the line. Fortunately for them, at this juncture, a breeze aroſe quite contrary to that which had hitherto proved favourable to the Engliſh. It threw aback the ſhips that were cloſeſt in action, and enabled the enemy to diſengage themſelves from the danger they were in.

During the diſorder into which this ſudden ſhifting of the wind had thrown the Britiſh ſquadron, the French had time to recover themſelves, and to form to windward thoſe which had been leaſt damaged, in order to cover the reſt. Sir Edward Hughes, on the other hand, was making his utmoſt efforts to gain ſuch a poſition, as would enable him to re-attack the enemy advantageouſly. But the wind had ſo ſcattered his ſquadron, that only a part of it could renew the engagement; and ſome of his ſhips were at ſuch a diſtance from the others, that they ran the utmoſt hazard of being cut off by the enemy.

In the afternoon, the French drawing together in a cloſe body, ſtood away from the Britiſh ſquadron. Hereupon Sir Edward Hughes, who had made ready for another conflict, collected his ſhips in the ſame manner, and kept ſight of them till dark, when they came to an anchor about nine miles to leeward. On the cloſe of day he anchored off the land between Negapatam and Nagore, and ſpent the night in repairing the damages received in the action, in expectation of being able to come up with the enemy next morning, and ending the conteſt deciſive-

ron got under ſail at break of day, and made off with all ſpeed to Cuddalore: his own ſhips at the ſame time being ſo much hurt in their rigging, that they were not able to purſue the enemy to any effect.

Thus ended this remarkable action, in the forepart of which the French were ſo thoroughly defeated, that one of their ſhips actually ſtruck to the Britiſh one that was neareſt to her; but on obſerving ſhe was in the very act of wearing, in obedience to a ſignal from the Britiſh Admiral, and that ſome French ſhips were approaching, ſhe hoiſted all the ſail ſhe could, fired at the Britiſh ſhip, and made off to her own. It appeared in this engagement, as in all others throughout the war, that the French were unable to ſtand a cloſe action with the Britiſh ſeamen, on equal terms. Had not an unexpected alteration of wind interpoſed, it was clear that theſe latter would have obtained a complete victory.

The reality of the advantage on the ſide of the Engliſh fully appeared in the far greater number of ſlain and wounded on that of the French, which amounted to near eight hundred, while the ſame liſt on board of the Britiſh ſquadron came to little more than three hundred. Among thoſe who fell, was Captain Maclellan, of Sir Edward Hughes's own ſhip. He was the ſecond Captain ſlain on board of the Admiral within the ſpace of five months.

M. de Suffrein withdrew to Cuddalore in conſequence of this action, in order to repair his ſquadron. He did this with the greater expedition, as he received information that a large body of French troops, in tranſports, was arrived off the iſle of Ceylon, in company with three ſhips of the line. This affording him an opportunity of retaliation for the loſs he had ſuffered in the late engagement, he exerted himſelf to improve it; and made ſuch pro-

able to put to ſea at the beginning of Auguſt. The object he had now in view was an attempt upon Trincomale.

Sir Edward Hughes was in the mean time taking in proviſions and ammunition, and putting his ſquadron in a proper condition at Madras. But the ſecret of the departure of M. de Suffrein's ſquadron from Cuddalore, as well as of the expedition intended againſt Trincomale, were ſo well kept, that the Britiſh Admiral received no intelligence of theſe tranſactions till a Britiſh frigate chacing a French one, which took ſhelter with the French ſquadron at Trincomale, diſcovered it by this accident, and haſted with the news to the Britiſh Admiral at Madras.

Sir Edward Hughes had already diſpatched two ſhips of the line, with ſupplies, and a reinforcement of troops for the garriſon of Trincomale.—On receiving this information, his ſquadron being in ſufficient readineſs, he ſailed immediately to the relief of that place: but the weather ſet in ſo contrary to him, that all his endeavours to arrrive in time were totally ineffectual.

M. de Suffrein had in the mean while formed a junction with the French tranſports and men of war. With theſe he proceeded to the harbour of Trincomale, where the troops effected a landing under the fire of his ſquadron, and laid cloſe ſiege to the fort. The garriſon was not deficient in neceſſaries for a defence; but the place was not in a ſtate of ſtrength adequate to reſiſt ſuch a powerful attack as was made by the enemy. Their batteries ſilenced thoſe of the fort in leſs than two days, and the commanding officer found himſelf under a neceſſity of capitulating. He obtained honourable conditions for his garriſon, and ſecurity for thoſe that had already been granted to the Dutch, on the preceding capture of the place by the Engliſh: a

circumſtance that redounded much to the honour and good faith of theſe.

The ſuſpected approach of Sir Edward Hughes, induced the French Admiral to agree without difficulty to all the demands of the garriſon; and the place was ſurrendered to the French on the laſt day of Auguſt.

It was with deep concern that Sir Edward Hughes, on his arrival off Trincomale on the ſecond of September, diſcovered the forts were in the hands of the enemy, who lay in the bay with fifteen ſhips of the line, while he had no more than twelve. But the ſpirit of his people was ſo ſtimulated with a deſire of vengeance, that he did not in the leaſt heſitate to come to an immediate engagement with the enemy, notwithſtanding their evident ſuperiority.

Nor was Mr. De Suffrein averſe to abide the iſſue of a conteſt. He came out of the Bay next morning, and the engagement began at noon with great fury on both ſides. To avail himſelf of his ſuperiority in number, he aſſailed the laſt ſhip in the rear of the Britiſh ſquadron with two of his own, and the two firſt of its van with five. The attack on the rear was fruſtrated by the timely aſſiſtance of another ſhip, of which the fire was ſo violent, that the enemy was completely beaten off. But in the van, where one of the ſhips they attacked was only of fifty guns, their ſuperiority was more heavily felt. The other ſhip, after a deſperate reſiſtance, was ſo diſabled as to move out of the line; and that of fifty was compelled to make its way through the fire of the five before ſhe could be aſſiſted.

The center diviſions of both ſquadrons were in the mean while cloſely engaged. The French ſhips ſuffered moſt, eſpecially in their maſts; ſeveral of which were ſhot away. The conflict continued with equal obſtinacy on each ſide till about ſeven

ral losing both his mizen and main-mast, and several of their other ships being essentially damaged, they drew off. They received on retreating a severe fire from the British squadron; but it was not in a condition to pursue them, from the hurt it had itself sustained.

Sir Edward Hughes lay to during the night, intending to recommence the fight next morning; but, on the return of light, he could discover none of the enemy. They had returned, as soon as it was dark, to Trincomale. They re-entered that harbour in so much confusion, that partly through that cause, as well as from the obscurity of the night, they lost a ship of seventy-four guns.

Their loss of men in this engagement was considerably greater than in the former, amounting to near eleven hundred killed and wounded. It fell in a much larger proportion on the French Admiral's ship than upon any other; its return of slain and wounded being no less than three hundred and eighty. The same list on board the British squadron was incomparably less, being no more than three hundred and thirty. Among the slain however were three officers of eminent merit as well as rank; Captains Wat of the Sultan, Wood of the Worcester, and Lumley of the Isis.

The consequence of the loss of Trincomale was now heavily experienced. While the French lay safely in that harbour, repairing their squadron, Sir Edward Hughes was obliged to bear away to Madras for the same purpose. But here he was assailed by one of the most terrible tempests that was ever known upon that coast, and in which little less than one hundred trading vessels were lost. This calamity occasioned another still greater. The vessels cast away were laden with rice, of which there was an extreme scarcity at Madras, owing to the

vaſtations of the war in the Carnatic. The loſs of theſe veſſels increaſed the ſcarſity to an abſolute famine, which carried off about ten thouſand of the inhabitants, before a ſufficient ſupply could arrive from Bengal for their relief.

The continuance of the bad weather, through the ſetting in of the monſoon, on the coaſt of Coromandel, compelled Sir Edward Hughes to repair with all expedition to Bombay, where he intended to give his ſquadron a thorough refitting; but his paſſage to that ſettlement was accompanied with a continual boiſterouſneſs of weather; and he did not arrive till towards the cloſe of the year. His ſquadron was ſo ſhattered, that in order to repair it with due expedition, he was obliged to diſtribute it between the dock-yards of Bombay, and the Portugueze ſettlement of Goa.

In the mean time Sir Richard Bickerton, with a ſquadron of five ſhips of the line, was arrived at Bombay from England. He brought near five thouſand men for the land ſervice. Not meeting with Sir Edward Hughes there, he proceeded to Madras, where, having put the troops aſhore, he returned to Bombay to join him. His voyage from England to Bombay was very favourable; and in his paſſage from Bombay to Madras, and back again to that place, he had the good fortune to eſcape the bad weather that had attended Sir Edward Hughes; and both his ſhips and people were in condition for immediate ſervice.

Four battles had now been fought between Sir Edward Hughes and Mr. de Suffrein in the ſpace of ſeven months. In the courſe of no year during this or any preceding war, did two naval commanders meet ſo frequently in fight, at the head of the ſame ſquadrons. Never had ſo ſignal and obſtinate a competition for the maſtery of the Indian ocean been exhibited between any two nations, as that

which now ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and the French. Thoſe ancient rivals contended for empire in India, with no leſs eagerneſs than they did in Europe. They ſeemed indeed to conſider this part of the globe as that wherein their honour and intereſts were peculiarly at ſtake, from the prodigious commercial benefits that would accrue to thoſe who ſhould remain maſters of it. The greatneſs of the objects which they had reſpectively in view animated them both in the moſt violent degree; and their reciprocal efforts were principally directed, as far as diſtance and other circumſtances would permit, to this vaſt and complicated ſcene of action.

It was however very remarkable at this time, that contrary to former experience and long obſervation, the behaviour of the French officers did not correſpond with that character which they had hitherto borne. Inſtead of approbation and praiſes, their commander was perpetually loading them with cenſure and reprimand for miſbehaviour. Several were ignominiouſly diſmiſſed the ſervice; ſome remanded home to be tried in France, and ſix of his captains were ſent under arreſt to the French iſlands off the Coaſt of Africa, for the like cauſes.

Far different was the conduct and treatment of the Britiſh officers; in whoſe commendation their Admiral was laviſh upon every occaſion, without one ſingle exception throughout the ſeveral engagements that took place. Hence it may not unjuſtly be inferred, that the accounts publiſhed in England, of the different actions with the French in India, however they might appear too favourable to this country, had a juſt and ſolid foundation, and were much more worthy of credit than the reports ſo induſtriouſly propagated in France; the authenticity of the firſt being ſupported by a proof, which, though collateral, argued powerfully againſt

CHAP. LXIX.

Tranſactions in the Eaſt-Indies.

1872. 1783.

THE French promiſed themſelves, with much reaſon, a multiplicity of advantages from their ſquadron's remaining in the proximity of the coaſt of Coromandel, while the Britiſh ſquadron was compelled to ſail round to that of Malabar for the purpoſe of refitting. In this reſpect the deprivation of the harbour of Trincomale was particularly detrimental to the Engliſh.

France intended that the next campaign in India ſhould be conſpicuouſly ſignalized by the immenſe force ſhe was to diſplay at land as well as at ſea, in that part of the world. Excluſive of the French troops already landed on the coaſt of Coromandel, a body of near five thouſand men, all regulars, was to join them from their African iſlands. They were to be accompanied by ſeveral ſhips of the line, to reinforce M. De Suffrein, whoſe naval ſtrength, it was then hoped, would, by its great ſuperiority, prove an overmatch for that under Sir Edward Hughes, while their military aſhore, through their numbers, and eſpecially the powerful artillery they were to bring into the field, would, in all probability, overcome any reſiſtance.

In order to oppoſe effectually the deſigns of the French, which were chiefly directed to the coaſt of Coromandel, it appeared neceſſary to make a powerful diverſion on the coaſt of Malabar. This meaſure had already been adopted during the preceding campaign by the Preſidency of Bombay. A ſtrong body of troops, commanded by Colonel Humber-

rable cities on that coaſt, beſides others of leſſer note, and penetrated into the mountainous and difficult inland country in their neighbourhood. Here, having made himſelf maſter of a place called Mongarry Cotta, of which the ſituation commanded the entrance into the inner parts, he proceeded to attack Palacatcherry, a conſiderable town at ſome miles diſtance. But contrary to the hope he had formed of eaſily maſtering it, from the information he had received of its inability to reſiſt him, he found himſelf ſuddenly aſſailed by a numerous enemy, that ſurrounded his troops on every ſide: it was with no ſmall difficulty they could extricate themſelves, nor without the loſs of their proviſions and baggage.

Intelligence arriving at Bombay, of the motions of Colonel Humberſtone, apprehending that the attempts he was now making, required a greater force than that of which he was poſſeſſed, the Preſidency diſpatched General Mathews to his aſſiſtance, with a large re-inforcement. The Colonel's ſtrength, in the mean while, was not adequate to the making of any effectual ſtand againſt the ſuperior force that was advancing againſt him under Tippoo Saib; who uſed ſuch diligence, that Colonel Humberſtone had only time to make good his retreat to Panyan, where he found Colonel Macleod, who now aſſumed the command.

The ſituation of Panyan, on the ſea coaſt, enabled two frigates to come to the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh troops. Their fire, together with that from the works which the troops had thrown up aſhore, rendered the repeated attempts of the enemy to force them entirely fruitleſs. This reſiſtance was ſeconded by ſeveral vigorous ſallies, wherein the enemy ſuffered conſiderably.

The force under Tippoo Saib conſiſted of near

horſe. His infantry was the beſt diſciplined of his army; and he was accompanied by Mr. Lally with a large body of French. At the head of this formidable ſtrength, Tippoo Saib's ſpirit would not ſuffer him to refrain from making a general effort againſt the Britiſh troops. He aſſailed their lines accordingly with his whole force. His attack was conducted with equal regularity and reſolution: Both he and the French commander exerted themſelves perſonally with uncommon bravery. But, after a fierce and bloody diſpute, his people were completely repulſed. The ſucceſs obtained by the Britiſh troops was ſo great and deciſive, that Tippoo Saib abandoned the ſiege of Panyan, and withdrew to the other ſide of the river of that name.

General Mathews, who was haſtening to the aid of Colonel Humberſtone, on being apprized of this tranſaction, and deeming his ſituation no longer dangerous, reſolved to carry the war into the heart of Hyder Ally's dominions; judging this the moſt direct meaſure to compel him to relinquiſh the defence of ſuch as were more diſtant, and which would thereby lie open to invaſion. To this intent he brought the forces under his command before the city of Onore, ſituated about three hundred miles to the ſouth of Bombay, and one of the principal places in the country of Canaree. It was taken by aſſault with great ſlaughter, and plundered, with circumſtances of avarice and rapine, that were highly diſgraceful to the victors; among whom, at the ſame time, great diſcontents aroſe concerning the diſtribution of the ſpoil.

The death of Hyder Ally happening about this period, which was the cloſe of eighty-two and opening of eighty-three, had excited the greateſt expectations in his enemies of being able to profit by this event. The Preſidency of Bombay, in conſequence of it, ſent orders to General Mathews to

proceed with all the force he could collect into the country of Canaree, in order to gain poſſeſſion of Bednore, the capital; by which means the treaſures of Hyder Ally, which were reputed immenſe, would fall into his hands, together with all his magazines for war. The Council of Bombay, among other motives, was partly determined to this meaſure, by the diſcontents which were ſaid to prevail in that country, and the diſinclination of the generality of the inhabitants to ſubmit to any government but their own.

After having forced their way through the paſſages in the mountains that form the frontiers of this country, the Britiſh army advanced towards Bednore, which now bore the name of Hyder Nagur, or the city of Hyder, by order of that prince, one of the moſt ſpacious and magnificent places in India. As it was incapable of reſiſtance, it was delivered up to the Engliſh by the Governor, together with Hyder Ally's treaſures, and the remainder of the whole province, of which it was the capital, on condition, that all private property ſhould be ſecure, and that he himſelf ſhould continue to govern it under them, as he had done under Hyder Ally.

On the ſurrender of Bednore, which took place in the beginning of February eighty-three, the Britiſh General impriſoned the Indian Governor, in direct violation of the articles of capitulation; and committed various irregularities, which gave great offence to his principal officers. His conduct, it is ſaid, became altogether ſo deſtitute of prudence and propriety, that three of them left him, and returned to Bombay: Theſe were Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, and Major Shaw. They belonged to the King's troops, and were men of known honour and bravery.

both them, and all others under his command, with diſreſpect and licentiouſneſs; and complained, that their mutinous diſpoſition and the unruly behaviour, of which they were guilty, threatened the moſt dangerous conſequences.

On the examination of thoſe charges, and of the anſwers that were made to them; and upon a long enquiry into the conduct of General Mathews, he was ſuſpended from the command of the army, and it was conferred on Colonel Macleod.

During theſe proceedings at Bombay, a detachment from the forces under General Mathews invaded and ſubdued ſeveral places on the neighbouring coaſt. Among theſe was Mangalore, the principal ſeaport and marine arſenal of Hyder Ally. It was carried, after ſome reſiſtance; but the fort held out with ſo much obſtinacy, that General Mathews was obliged to beſiege it in form with the major part of his troops. By its ſurrender on the ninth of March, an end was put to the project of ſetting up for a maritime power, which Hyder Ally had formed and brought into a conſiderable ſtate of maturity; a number of ſtout ſhips, three of which were of the line, being already far advanced in their conſtruction.

The loſs of Mangalore was an object of much concern to Tippoo Saib, who had ſucceeded to his father's deſigns, as well as his power. He prepared immediately to march againſt the Britiſh forces in the Bednore country, and collected for that purpoſe all the troops he had in the Carnatic; reſolving to relinquiſh this entirely, however mortifying it might be to give it up, after ſo much toil and ſtruggle to keep it, rather than to part with a province which his father had made the ſeat of his empire, and his favourite reſidence.

The army, with which Tippoo Saib was advancing to the reſcue of his capital, conſiſted of above

one

one hundred thouſand men. The force which General Mathews had to oppoſe him amounted only to between two and three thouſand, of whom ſix or ſeven hundred were Europeans. It had been expected by the moſt judicious officers with him, that, on being appriſed of the multitudes that were approaching, he would have poſted himſelf at the paſſes on the mountains leading down to the ſea-coaſt, where, it was thought, he might have effectually protected his late conqueſts; but, contrary to all the rules of prudence, he marched out of Bednore, and gave battle to Tippoo Saib in an open plain.

The reſult of his temerity was, that, after a ſhort conteſt, his handful of men was totally routed, with great ſlaughter; and he was obliged, with the broken remains of his ſmall force, to take ſhelter in the fortreſs, that ſtood upon an eminence near the town. Here they were immediately inveſted on every ſide. After ſuſtaining a ſiege of near three weeks, wherein many were ſlain and wounded, and being much reduced otherwiſe, through illneſs and conſtant fatigue, the enemy's artillery having at the ſame time deſtroyed moſt of their defences, they offered at length to capitulate.

The terms which they obtained from Tippoo Saib, were the ſecurity of their private property, on delivering up to him all public, and that they ſhould be conducted in ſafety to Bombay.

But theſe conditions depriving the garriſon of the immenſe booty it had acquired by the taking of Bednore, a determination was taken to elude them if poſſible. To this purpoſe the treaſure that had been found in the fortreſs was divided among the garriſon, and nothing left to the conqueror, to whom it belonged by right of capitulation. But

interpreted by Tippoo Saib as an infraction of the agreement made on the part of the garriſon, he reſolved, from that moment, to conſider the articles of the capitulation as annulled by this breach of faith.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the General and all his officers and men were put under confinement, and ſtripped of all they poſſeſſed. After ſuffering many indignities, they were ſent, loaded with irons, to a fort up the country, where they endured a long impriſonment, accompanied with much ill-treatment and miſery.

The fate of their unfortunate General has been variouſly reported. Both he and ſeveral of his officers were, it is ſaid, put to death with circumſtances of great cruelty.

The fidelity of the Sepoys, and their affectionate behaviour to their European fellow-ſufferers, during their common captivity, has been highly extolled by thoſe who were witneſſes of it, and repreſented as the nobleſt proof they ever gave of the ſincerity of their attachment to the ſervice and intereſt of thoſe whoſe party they had embraced.

While this unhappy garriſon was blocked up in the fort, to which they had retired after the loſs of the battle their commander had ſo raſhly hazarded, Tippoo Saib had diſpatched large detachments from his army, to ſeize the paſſes in the mountains. Such a panic had ſtruck thoſe who guarded them, on hearing of the army's defeat at Bednore, that they were eaſily occupied by Tippoo Saib's troops. This terror was quickly communicated to the neighbouring garriſons. Cundapore, a place of great ſtrength and importance, was immediately abandoned; and Onore, a poſt of ſtill greater conſequence, would have been relinquiſhed in the like manner, had not Captain Torriano's intrepidity

revived the courage of his men, and recalled them to their duty.

The Succeſs of his arms in recovering poſſeſſion of his capital, in forcing the paſſes, and retaking ſeveral places along the coaſt, encouraged Tippoo Saib to lay ſiege to Mangalore, in many reſpects the moſt important town he had loſt on the coaſt of Malabar. He ſurrounded it with his whole army, while the operations of the ſiege were carried on by the French troops that had accompanied him from the Carnatic. By their exertions the garriſon was reduced to great extremity, notwithſtanding the gallant defence made by Major Campbell, and the bravery of the troops he commanded.

They were relieved at laſt from the toils and dangers of their ſituation, by the news that arrived in the month of July of the general peace. It proved a very unwelcome intelligence to Tippoo Saib, who now hoped in a few days to have been maſter of Mangalore; but was inſtantly forced to give up all ſuch expectation; the French commander acquainting him, that his orders were to act no longer againſt the Engliſh.

This was a ſevere diſappointment to Tippoo Saib. He expreſſed great impatience and indignation at being abandoned by allies on whom he had been taught to place ſo much reliance, and who now deſerted him in the midſt of an enterprize, in which they knew he could not ſucceed without their co-operation.

Such were the complaints of Tippoo Saib. It has even been ſaid, that his reſentment carried him ſo far, that he was on the point of uſing compulſion with the French, and forcing them to continue the operations of the ſiege. Certain it is, that both he and they parted upon unfriendly terms. His

ſiege of Mangalore; of which he did not regain the poſſeſſion till the enſuing year; when it was reſtored to him, with other places on the Coaſt of Malabar, at the pacification that took place between him and the Eaſt-India Company.

During theſe tranſactions on the Coaſt of Malabar, no leſs a variety of military operations was carrying on along the Coaſt of Coromandel. From the time that Sir Eyre Coote left the command to General Stuart, to the cloſe of the year eighty-two, this officer was employed in obſerving the motions of the enemy, and preventing them from becoming maſters of ſeveral places at which they were directed. Relying on the goodneſs of his troops, he frequently ſought to bring them to action; but notwithſtanding their vaſt ſuperiority, and the aſſiſtance of their French allies, they conſtantly declined it.

In the beginning of the ſeaſon for action, the Governor and Council of Bengal determined to ſend an ample ſupply to the Preſidency of Madras, in order to enable them to put a final and ſucceſsful termination to the war, which Tippoo Saib ſeemed no leſs intent on proſecuting than his father had been. Sir Eyre Coote, who had for the benefit of his health gone by ſea to Bengal, was now entruſted by them with a large ſum of money, with which he embarked for Madras. But when he had almoſt reached his deſtination, he found himſelf in danger of being taken by two French men of war of the line. They chaced him forty-eight hours; during which the ſolicitude and fatigue he underwent in continuing almoſt the whole time upon deck, occaſioned a relapſe into his former illneſs. He came ſafe into port, but died two days after his landing.

The loſs of this illuſtrious General was deeply

lities were greatly needed. The moſt flattering expectations had been formed, that he would have compleated in the courſe of this campaign what he had ſo happily begun, and brought ſo much forward during the two laſt. His reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed, and had been carried ſo high by the brilliancy of his exploits during that period, that an unbounded confidence was placed in his military talents, and he was reputed by friends and foes as great a commander as ever appeared in India.

In the mean time, as the invaſion of his principal dominions had compelled Tippoo Saib to haſten with all ſpeed to their reſcue, General Stuart ſeized that opportunity to attack him in another quarter. On the former's leaving the Carnatic, a large force was ſent under Colonel Fullarton to invade the province of Coimbatour. The ſucceſs of this officer was great and rapid. He over-ran the enemy's country, taking ſeveral places of ſtrength and conſequence, and making an alarming diverſion on this ſide of Tippoo Saib's dominions, while he was engaged ſo warmly and ſo dangerouſly in the center of them, and on the coaſt of Malabar.

The great operations that General Stuart had in view, obliged him to recall this officer in the midſt of his ſucceſſes. Though the retreat of Tippoo Saib from the Carnatic was an event of eſſential importance, and might be juſtly conſidered as a deliverance from the moſt formidable of all their enemies; yet the Preſidency of Madras did not look upon this advantage as complete, while a powerful body of French remained poſſeſt of ſo ſtrong a hold in their neighbourhood as Cuddalore. It was now become their principal place of arms. As they did not propoſe, after the departure of that prince, to face the Engliſh in the field, they had

the utmoſt. Herein they had ſucceeded ſo well, that the beſieging of it was conſidered as a very hazardous attempt, eſpecially as the garriſon was extremely numerous, and compoſed of as good troops as any in France; being what the French ſtile old corps, choſen and hardy veterans, equally brave and expert in their profeſſion.

Nor were they alone in this ſervice. A number of Tippoo Saib's beſt troops were left with them. They were at the ſame time plentifully provided with warlike ſtores, and all other neceſſaries; and had an artillery ſuch as was never yet ſeen in India.

Previous to General Stuart's commencing the ſiege of Cuddalore, which was about the beginning of June, they had conſtructed ſtrong lines of defence in the front of the place, one part only excepted, which was occupied by a thick wood, which they looked upon as impenetrable. But the Britiſh General was of another opinion, and began immediately, on his arrival before the town, to prepare to make his way through it. Upon which they thought it neceſſary to continue the lines they had begun, quite acroſs the neck which ſeparates the town from the Continent.

As the beſieged carried on this work with uncommon expedition, General Stuart reſolved immediately to attack it before they proceeded any further, judging, that when compleated, it would require immenſe exertions to maſter it by a regular and progreſſive approach.

To this purpoſe a vigorous attempt was made upon their lines, under the direction of General Bruce. Several of their batteries on a riſing ground were carried, and turned againſt them, by the corps under Colonel Kelly. The grenadiers of the Britiſh army, who all acted upon this occaſion, endea-

the protection of theſe batteries, to take poſſeſſion of a redoubt, the fire of which annoyed them greatly; but they met with ſo firm a reception, that it was found neceſſary, after a long and violent conteſt, to call in the line of reſerve, and to change the method of attack.

The whole morning had been ſpent in cannonading the enemy's works, without making any impreſſion upon them. It was now therefore determined to try the iſſue of an aſſault. The grenadiers, headed by Colonel Cathcart, and the reſerve by Colonels Gordon and Stuart, advanced to the French lines, through the heavieſt fire of muſquetry, cannon and grape-ſhot, that both they, and their General, from their own acknowledgment, had ever experienced. They entered the enemy's intrenchments, who received them at the point of their bayonets. With this weapon alone both parties now engaged, and did dreadful execution upon each other. But the French, who were continually ſupported by their own people from the town, overpowered at length the Britiſh troops. Theſe however retreated in firm order, maintaining the fight with no leſs reſolution than the enemy, who followed them out of their lines, in hopes of breaking them entirely. But the deſperate ſtand made by theſe ſuddenly changed the fortune of the day. Another diviſion of the Britiſh troops perceiving the French had quitted their works, turned their flanks, and took poſſeſſion of their principal redoubt. Thoſe Britiſh troops in the mean while, which had at firſt retreated, repulſed in their turn the enemy, who had followed them, and who, ſeeing the Engliſh maſters of the redoubt, retired immediately into the town. The effect produced by this ſucceſs was, that the French gave up the defence of the works they had been at ſuch pains

they now were wholly confined. The loſs on the ſide of the aſſailants amounted to near one thouſand killed and wounded; among the former were Major Varrenius of the Hanoverians, and Captain Lindſay of the Britiſh grenadiers, who fell at the head of their men in the firſt attack of the enemy's intrenchments. Near one half of the liſt conſiſted of Europeans; the greateſt proportion ever yet known in that part of the world. Of the French themſelves, though fighting under the protection of their lines, not leſs than ſix hundred were ſlain or wounded; and of theſe, more than forty were officers. What made this loſs the more conſiderable, it conſiſted almoſt wholly of their French troops.

While General Stuart preſſed the town of Cuddalore by land, Sir Edward Hughes lay off the harbour, to cut off its communication by ſea. His fleet had lately ſuffered a great diminution of men from the ſcurvy. The violence and contagion of the diſorder had made it neceſſary to ſet numbers of them aſhore, for the preſervation of their lives. Of this M. de Suffrein being appriſed, reſolved to encounter him before they were ſufficiently recovered to return to their duty.

In order to give ſuch a deciſive ſuperiority in number of men to M. De Suffrein, as might enable him at once to board the Britiſh ſquadron, M. de Buſſy, who commanded at Cuddalore, ſent him twelve hundred of his beſt troops. Thus provided, it was thought the French Admiral would not heſitate to cloſe in upon the Engliſh; who, though ſeventeen of the line ſtrong, which was two more than he had, were ſo weakly manned, from the cauſe already aſſigned, that the real advantage in point of ſtrength, lay entirely on his ſide.

On the twentieth of June, M. De Suffrein approached the Britiſh ſquadron in order of battle

The engagement began at four in the afternoon, and lasted three hours; but the French preserved a diſtance the more ſurprizing, as they knew the circumſtances the Engliſh were in; by whom it was fully expected, that they would have neared them ſufficiently for the cloſeſt fighting.

The enemy retired in the night to Pondicherry, whither Sir Edward Hughes followed them. After having again proffered them battle, which they did not chuſe to accept, he made for Madras, in order to land his ſick and wounded, and take on board thoſe who were recovered. The loſs in killed and wounded in the Britiſh ſquadron amounted to five hundred and thirty; but that of the French, tho' it could not be preciſely aſcertained, exceeded it conſiderably.

Thus ended the naval operations between the Engliſh and French in the Eaſt-Indies. In no part of the globe did both theſe nations engage with ſo much frequency and eagerneſs, nor loſe ſo many brave officers and ſeamen in proportion to their ſhipping.

In the mean time, General Stuart felt a daily diminution of his ſtrength before Cuddalore, partly through illneſs as well as through the chances of war. The beſieged, who were well informed of his ſituation, concerted a project, by which they fully confided to make him raiſe the ſiege, if not to give him a total defeat. A body of near four thouſand men was landed from their ſquadron; which, added to the troops in the place, was eſteemed a force completely adequate to the deſign propoſed.

The execution of it was committed to the Chevalier De Damas, an experienced and valiant officer. On the twenty-fifth of June, at the head of the regiment of Aquitaine, reported one of the beſt in

and other troops ſelected from the braveſt in the garriſon, he ſallied out by break of day upon the beſiegers.

The Britiſh officers then commanding the trenches, were Colonels Gordon and Cathcart, and Major Cotgrøve. As the attack was made in the dark, the French threw the Britiſh troops into ſome confuſion at firſt, and took a pair of colours belonging to a corps of Sepoys. This ſucceſs was but momentary. The enemy were ſoon faced in ſuch a manner, as to be repulſed and broken every where; and compelled, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to give way. They were ſo warmly preſſed, that their commander, the Chevalier De Damas, was taken with about two hundred of his countrymen, and about as many were ſlain.

This tranſaction was attended with one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances that happened during the whole war. A corps of Sepoy grenadiers encountered the French troops oppoſed to them with fixed bayonets, and overcame them. An action ſo ſtriking was not only noticed with due applauſe, but procured that corps a more ſolid remuneration, a proviſion for themſelves and their families, by the Preſidencies to whoſe department they belonged. The only loſs of conſequence was that of Major Cotgrøve, by whoſe example and conduct, theſe brave Indians were animated to behave in ſo extraordinary a manner.

The arrival of the news that peace was concluded by the belligerent powers in Europe, put an end to hoſtilities between their ſubjects in India, which had been as conſiderable a theatre of this extenſive and deſtructive war, and had produced as great a variety of important events, and aſtoniſhing viciſſitudes of fortune, as any other quarter of the globe.

CHAP. LXX.

Independence of the United States recogniſed by the Dutch.--Tranſactions in America.--Proviſional Treaty with the Colonies —Ships Loſt at Sea.

1782.

THE capture of Mr. Laurens, the late Preſident of the Congreſs, when upon his voyage to Holland, and his ſubſequent detention in London, occaſioned the buſineſs of his miſſion from the United States of America to devolve into the hands of Mr. John Adams, a gentleman of the province of Maſſachuſet, of acknowledged abilities.

He executed his commiſſion with great diligence and ſagacity. His firſt public ſtep was the famous memorial preſented to the States General in April eighty-one, aſſerting the rectitude of the American declaration of independence, together with the propriety of a ſtrict amity and correſpondence, and a firm union of intereſts between the United States of America and the Republic of Holland.

Having, by a variety of arguments and inſinuations, prepared the minds of the Dutch for a favourable acceptance of the propoſals he brought from his countrymen, he preſented his ſecond memorial to the States General in the enſuing month of January. It produced the deſired effect. The ſeven provinces of the Union having, in their ſeveral aſſemblies taken it into conſideration, directed their reſpective deputies at the Hague, to concur in admitting Mr. Adams as miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America. This admiſſion took place in the month of April eighty-two.

The ſucceſs of Mr. Adams in this negociation was highly acceptable to Congreſs. But it added, in fact, no great ſtrength to the Confederacy; and

was reſented by Great Britain in a manner, which made numbers of the ſoundeſt judges of the intereſts of Holland, declare that country had widely erred from the track it ought to have purſued in the preſent juncture.

Excluſive of the loſſes and humiliations which the Dutch had already experienced in conſequence of that meaſure in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, as well as on their own coaſt, they were expoſed, during the courſe of this year, to a variety of inſults and depredations in Africa, where many of their forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea fell into the hands of the Engliſh, to their great diſgrace, and diminution of credit among the princes and nations of that extenſive country.

The progreſs of the confederacy againſt Great Britain availed them but little. They ſeemed in ſome meaſure pointed out as the people upon whom its vengeance was to fall heavieſt every where. This indeed was in the eye of politicians no more than what they were to expect from a ſtate, which, of all others, they ought to have conſidered, on account of its proximity, ſtrength and intereſt, as their ſureſt and moſt natural ally; with which, from their ſituation in the ſyſtem of Europe, they ought to have preſerved the ſincereſt connexion, and from which, as they were always at hand to receive the moſt powerful and ready ſupport, they were by that reaſon to apprehend the ſevereſt treatment for eſpouſing the cauſe of its enemies.

They had little at the preſent to promiſe themſelves from the formidable combination againſt their old ally. Admiral Rodney's victory over the whole naval force of France in the Weſt-Indies, had ſo completely broken, and diſconcerted the plans and deſigns of that power, that it ſeemed to have given up all ideas of annoying Great Britain in that quarter.

After that terrible defeat, inſtead of endeavouring to collect into one point of force the yet conſiderable remains of their vanquiſhed fleet, the French appeared to be rather taken up with projects of a ſecondary nature, ſuch as might diſtreſs partial branches of commerce, and annoy individuals, rather than contribute to any eſſential detriment of their enemy.

Of this nature was the expedition to Hudſon's Bay, undertaken by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, and two frigates of thirty-ſix, under the direction of M. Delaperouſe. They ſailed to that remote and inhoſpitable region with a body of regulars and a train of artillery, as if the reſiſtance to be expected demanded any preparation of that conſequence.

The fact was, that they met with no other oppoſition than what aroſe from the nature of the climate; rocks of ice at ſea, with dreary and untrodden waſtes at land. Wherever they could penetrate, the few ſcores of commercial individuals, who occupied theſe frozen climes, in the name of the Hudſon's Bay Company, ſurrendered their dwellings to them at the firſt ſummons. The loſs to that Company was eſtimated at ſome hundred thouſand pounds.

The only action worth recording on this occaſion was the humanity with which the French commander ſpared a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and ſtores of all kinds, for the uſe of thoſe Engliſh who had withdrawn into the interior part of the country on his approach, and who, he knew, muſt on his departure have periſhed for want of them.

This leads one naturally to obſerve, that of all the wars recorded in ancient or modern hiſtory, the laſt was moſt conſpicuouſly marked with generous and humane paſſages. However dreadful and deſtruc-

refinement in nobleneſs of ſentiments, and real civilization, the preſent age has riſen over all the preceding.

While France was diſcharging its reſentment on theſe ſequeſtered and forlorn ſettlements, Spain was engaged in proſecutions of the ſame kind in the more ſouthern latitudes. The Governor of the Havannah, Don Juan de Cagigal, projected an invaſion of the Bahama Iſlands. At the head of five thouſand men, he attacked the iſle of Providence, of which the garriſon did not conſiſt of more than three hundred and ſixty. The conqueſt of ſuch a place could not be difficult, and was only worthy being noticed for the liberal treatment which the garriſon and inhabitants experienced from the captors, in the terms of capitulation granted to them.

The Spaniards had alſo taken poſſeſſion of ſome places in the Bay of Honduras, and on the Muſquito ſhore. But the Bay men, aſſiſted by their faithful negroes, a race of men long attached to them through kind uſage, retook ſome of them with great valour. A little army was formed in conjunction with the Indians in thoſe parts, whoſe enmity to the Spaniards has been inveterate and hereditary ever ſince the diſcovery of America. Headed by Colonel Deſpard, they attacked and carried the poſts on Black River, where they made about eight hundred of the Spaniſh troops priſoners of war.

During theſe tranſactions on the ſouthern Continent of America, the Britiſh Colonies in the north were now enjoying the near proſpect of a termination of all their ſufferings, and the fulleſt attainment of that political ſituation for which they had ſo warmly contended.

General Carlton, who had ſucceeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of the Britiſh army in

commencement of May, of the reſolutions taken by Parliament to forward an accommodation with the Colonies, and of the power inveſted in the Crown to conclude a general peace or truce with Congreſs, or a ſeparate one with any of the States in particular. To accelerate theſe purpoſes he demanded a paſſport for Mr. Morgan his ſecretary, granting him permiſſion to repair to Congreſs.

General Waſhington referring this requeſt to that body, it paſſed a reſolution in the negative. The idea of a general, or a ſeparate negociation with Great Britain, or of any treaty without the participation of France, was rejected with much warmth by the various provinces of the union. They unanimouſly concurred in declaring, that no accommodation ſhould take place that was not founded on the general conſent of the United States, and conformably to the ſtipulations made with their allies. The ſtate of Pennſylvania, in particular, reſolved, that whoever agreed to a ſeparate treaty with Great Britain, ſhould be reputed foes to the union; and that any proffers on the part of Great Britain to the prejudice of their alliance with France, ought to be rejected with ſcorn. It even paſſed a declaration that Congreſs itſelf poſſeſſed no right to frame any act tending to abrogate the ſupreme authority and independence of any province of the union.

In conformity to theſe ſentiments, Congreſs declared at the ſame time, that no amicable conference could be held with any commiſſioners from Britain, without a preliminary acknowledgment of the independency of America, or withdrawing its fleets and armies from that country.

In order to preclude all hope of compaſſing any ſeparate treaty, Congreſs ſtrongly recommended that a watchful eye ſhould be kept againſt the entrance of emiſſaries from Britain into the United

States; that no individuals coming among them under flags of truce, ſhould be allowed any communication with the inhabitants not relating to the buſineſs that brought them; and even that no perſon coming from any part of the Britiſh dominions, ſhould, while the war laſted, have admiſſion into any of the United States.

In the mean time, however, the work of peace was proceeding forward in Europe with great expedition. The Britiſh miniſtry, which had the pacification with the Colonies moſt at heart, came to a proviſional ſettlement with the American commiſſioners, ſo early as the end of November eighty-two.

By this agreement, which was to be definitive between Britain and America, as ſoon as that between the former and France could be concluded, Great Britain relinquiſhed all rights of ſovereignty over the Thirteen United Colonies, and acknowledged their independence in the fulleſt and moſt explicit terms. The boundaries between the reſpective territories of the contracting parties were ſettled in the moſt circumſtantial manner. All thoſe vaſt regions included between Nova Scotia and Canada, the five great lakes, and the river Miſſiſſippi, were ceded to the United States of America. The fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places upon the American coaſt, to be enjoyed in common by Britain and America.

When the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened on the fifth of December, much altercation took place on account of this proviſional treaty. It was complained, that an irrevocable and unconditional recognition of American independency had been made, without a ſufficient compenſation for ſo liberal and vaſt a conceſſion. It was urged, that by this meaſure the honour and intereſt of the kingdom in America had been abandoned in a manner

unworthy of the ſpirit and magnanimity which had ſo long characteriſed the Britiſh nation.

To the firſt of theſe objections it was anſwered that the acknowledgment of the independence of America was ſo entirely connected with the treaty depending between Great Britain and France, that were this latter to refuſe equitable conditions of peace, the proviſional treaty with America would neceſſarily become void.

To the ſecond objection it was replied, that when the terms upon which the pacification in view was to take place, were duly and impartially inveſtigated, it would fully appear that no conceſſion had been made derogatory to the dignity of the Britiſh nation. Its welfare had been properly conſulted, and every arrangement taken to obviate all reaſonable complaints on that account.

A variety of other diſcuſſions relating to this ſubject employed the abilities of the new miniſtry and its opponents: but though they were conducted, as uſual, with much warmth, and not a little acrimony, yet the main object itſelf was of too much importance to be affected by any collateral conſiderations: all parties concurred in the perſuaſion that no impediment ſhould be thrown in the way of peace.

The like ſentiments prevailed among the enemies of Great Britain. They had now waged a five years war in conjunction. Though they came freſh into the quarrel, that was then riſen to its height between her and America, ſtill this advantage had not availed them. Notwithſtanding the incumbrances with which Great Britain was loaded, deprived of her Colonies, and detrimented by ſubſequent loſſes, ſhe yet had proved ſtrong enough to reſiſt them.—Her ſtrength and her reſources ſeemed yet in a vigorous condition. The ſpirit of her councils was

themſelves in regard to the American war, continued inflexibly reſolute in the determination to face all other enemies.

Theſe conſiderations could not fail having due weight when laid in the balance againſt their own circumſtances. France, the great pillar of the confederacy againſt Britain, began to feel an alarming diminution at home of the means to maintain it on a ſtrong and efficient footing. The expences of the war lay heavieſt upon her, as ſhe had not only her own fleets and armies to ſupport, but was called upon by America for pecuniary, as well as other ſupplies. Her trade had materially ſuffered in the beginning of the rupture; and the many individuals whoſe affairs had been eſſentially injured at this period, had not yet recovered from their embaraſsments. She had been compelled, in order to ſtand her ground, to make great reformations in many departments, and to ſuppreſs a multitude of places hitherto eſteemed neceſſary for the ſplendor and dignity of the French court. With all theſe exertions and ſacrifices, ſhe ſtill experienced perpetual failures in every attempt of conſequence. Even in the European ſeas, though aſſiſted by the whole naval power of Spain, ſhe had not been able to make any impreſſion on the coaſt or the marine of Britain, or to prevent the uſual and eſtabliſhed courſe of its commerce. Her credit of late began to totter in the apprehenſion of the ſhrewdeſt and beſt informed. The Americans were frequently complaining of the tardineſs of her remittances, and aſcribing many of the diſaſters that attended them to her deficiences in that particular.

Spain, the other great member of the confederacy, was conſidered by the moſt intelligent, as having acted a part upon this occaſion totally inconſiſtent with the maxims ſhe ought to have adopted re-

the north of that hemiſphere, of which the proſperity and greatneſs were evidently incompatible with the ſafety of her vaſt poſſeſſions in that portion of the globe. The ſoundeſt politicians were, as they ſtill continue, uniformly of this opinion. But in this, as in many other inſtances, the intereſt of the Spaniſh nation gave way to miniſterial intrigues. The recovery of Jamaica in the new world, and of Minorca in the old, and above all, of Gibraltar, was deſcribed as a compenſation that would amply repay the trouble and expence that might be occaſioned by uniting with France in ſupport of the Britiſh Colonies. This meaſure was held out as one that would be attended with little difficulty, when jointly and vigorouſly purſued by the collective power of France and Spain. Allured by theſe motives, and ſwayed, no doubt, by a regard for the Family Compact, the Spaniſh Court entered into this combination againſt Great Britain, without fully perceiving its dangerous tendency. The capture of Minorca had lately revived the ſpirits of the Spaniſh nation; but they were ſoon after much more depreſſed by the failure of their arms before Gibraltar. This, with the relief of that fortreſs in the face and defiance of the whole naval ſtrength of the Houſe of Bourbon, together with the preceding defeat of the nobleſt fleet that France had ever ſent to the Weſt Indies, were events that convinced the miniſtry of Spain how erroneouſly it had been led to expect that the humiliation of Great Britain would be a work of facility, in the difficult circumſtances wherein ſhe was involved by the diſpute with her refractory Colonies.

Holland, the laſt member of the confederacy in point of power, as well as of time, was that which was now moſt deſirous to ſee the quarrel terminated. Never had that ſtate exhibited ſuch features of debility as

and its dependencies abroad in no circumſtances of defence. The remembrance of the paſt glories of that famous and formerly potent republic was all that now remained. It was with ſecret pleaſure that its ancient enemies now viewed it ſevered through their machinations from its old and natural ally. Inſtead of that honourable and independent part it was wont to take among contending kings and nations, it was now, through the imprudence of ſome, and the time-ſerving venality of others, reduced to act in ſubſerviency part to thoſe two powers preciſely, from which it had been uſed to experience the greateſt affronts and mortifications, and had been treated in the days of their reſpective triumphs and proſperities, with all manner of tyranny and oppreſſion. As it now depended entirely upon France for the protection of its foreign poſſeſſions, ſo it was, of courſe, implicitly guided by the directions of the French miniſtry in all the meaſures adopted by its government. In this precarious and fallen ſtate, the Dutch could not ſtrictly be ſaid to have a will of their own, and could only be conſidered as the paſſive inſtruments of France.

Such were the reciprocal ſituations of the various belligerent powers towards the cloſe of the year eighty-two; by which it appears, that however great their ambition, or keen their reſentments, they were all equally deſirous of peace, of which it was indeed difficult to decide which of them ſtood moſt in need.

Among the various events which marked the latter ſeaſon of this memorable year, was the loſs by ſtorms at ſea of ſome of the largeſt ſhips in the Britiſh navy. They were five in number, and part of a convoy that accompanied a large fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica; numbers of which periſhed on the ſame occaſion. Four of theſe five ſhips carried ſeventy-four guns, and one of them a

hundred and ten; this was the Ville de Paris, the nobleſt naval trophy ever won in battle from an enemy. Of the complement of this and another ſhip, the Glorieux, alſo a prize taken on the famous twelfth of April, only one man had the ſingular good fortune to eſcape to tell their melancholy fate. The people of the Ramilies were ſaved by the merchantmen in company; and thoſe of the Hector by accidentally falling in with a veſſel when their own was on the point of ſinking.

The fortune of the Hector was in every reſpect ſtriking. Her condition was ſo bad on her leaving Jamaica, that ſhe could only mount fifty guns inſtead of ſeventy-four, and ſhe had but a third of her crew. After parting company with the fleet, from her inability to keep up with it, ſhe fell in with two French frigates of the largeſt ſize, on their way to North America. They carried each forty-four guns, and three hundred men, and had a number of officers and ſoldiers on board, who were going to join the French troops on that continent.

The condition of the Hector was too viſible to eſcape their obſervation. They attacked her vigorouſly, not imagining ſhe could make any effectual reſiſtance. The action continued four hours; during which, from her diſabled ſtate, ſhe could not exert herſelf to any advantage, and lay continually expoſed to the raking fire of the enemy. But the intrepidity of her people ſupplied all deficiencies. Captain Bourchier, who commanded her, being grievouſly wounded, Captain Drury ſucceeded him, and behaved with equal gallantry. Both officers and men concurred in making the nobleſt defence that has ever been recorded of people in parallel circumſtances. Surpriſed at this unexpected oppoſition, the French commanders, who

bers, made an endervour to board them, but were repulſed with ſo much reſolution, that they loſt all hope of maſtering them, and drew off, to the great ſurprize of the Engliſh, who fought much more from a point of honour, than from any expectation of fruſtrating the enemy's attempt againſt a ſhip that was already a wreck, and could not have been preſerved had they taken her.

The tempeſtuous weather that followed, found her ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was utterly unable to ſtand it. After making every effort to ſave her that human induſtry and perſeverance could produce, water and proviſions failing, and the men falling dead through the inceſſant labour that was requiſite to keep the ſhip from going down, a veſſel was happily deſcried making towards them. The Captain's name was John Hill, whoſe noble behaviour on this occaſion well deſerves commemoration. Though his own veſſel was but a ſnow, he took on board the whole remaining company of the Hector, amounting to upwards of two hundred men; throwing part of his cargo overboard, to accommodate them with ſufficient room, and generouſly ſharing his proviſions with them, to the imminent hazard of being reduced to want them himſelf. This danger was ſo real, and he was ſo near experiencing the calamity to which he had expoſed himſelf, that the laſt caſk of water was broached on the day that land was diſcovered.

But the fate of the Centaur, Captain Inglefield, was much more lamentable. After enduring the fury of one of the moſt dreadful ſtorms that ever was remembered, and ſtriving with unavailing efforts to preſerve her, only twelve of the ſhip's company were able to ſave themſelves from the ſevere deſtiny of the others, who were all drowned. They fortunately got into the only remaining boat; in which, through innumerable perils and diſtreſſes

they traverſed the ſpace of near eight hundred miles in the Atlantic ocean, without compaſs or quadrant, and with a blanket for a ſail. Their food conſiſted of two biſcuits divided among them every twenty-four hours: their drink during the ſame ſpace, of as much water to every man as the neck of a wine bottle broken off would hold.

Captain Inglefield's behavionr in this deplorable ſituation was accompanied with a calmneſs and fortitude that contributed effectually to keep up the ſpirit and reſolution of his companions. Inſtead of giving the leaſt countenance to grief and deſpondency, he animated them by the chearfulneſs of his own deportment; and to chace away the gloom that might accrue from too much ſilence and penſiveneſs, he prevailed upon them to entertain each other every evening with ſongs and ſtories.

This dreadful trial laſted ſixteen days; at the expiration of which, when the laſt diviſion of water and biſcuit had been made, and all hopes were fled, to their inexpreſſible joy they diſcovered land. This was the Portugueze iſland of Fayal, where they had the happineſs to land ſafely that night.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

Parliamentary Debates on the Treaty of Peace.

1782. 1783.

THE provisional treaty with America, though containing a multiplicity of conceſſions to the Coloniſts, was generally approved by all parties.—The temper of the nation had ſo long been ſoured by that conteſt, and by the repeated and fruitleſs endeavours to bring it to a favourable iſſue, that people were become averſe even to the very diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and heartily deſirous to reſign the Americans to their own management, in the fulleſt latitude they could require.

For this reaſon the articles of that treaty met with almoſt an implicit approbation. The treaty itſelf, though it diſmembered the Britiſh empire, was conſidered as a deliverance from endleſs perplexity.—The people of America were now converted from the beſt and warmeſt of friends, into the moſt rancorous and inveterate foes. The conduct of their rulers exhibited on every occaſion the moſt unequivocal proofs of an irreconcilable diſpoſition. Peace was an object to which they were inclined in common with their allies from meer neceſſity but it was clear, by the whole tenour of their conduct, that reſentment and vengeance were the prevailing maxims throughout the American continent.

In the full conviction that ſuch were the inclinations of the Americans, the people of Great Britain were become almoſt indifferent to a connection, which they were clearly ſatisfied could not be founded on ſincerity; and deemed it ſufficient for their

own intereſt that a pacification ſhould take place at the preſent between both parties, leaving to future contingencies the renewal of their ancient friendſhip.

But while they conſented with ſo much willingneſs and facility to the demands of America, they beheld with a jealous and diſapproving eye the advantages reſulting to France from the preliminary treaty concluded with the miniſters of that Court on the twentieth of January, eighty-three.

By the articles of that treaty the French acquired, together with the iſles of St. Pierre and Miquelon, an extenſive tract of ſea for their fiſhery, ſtretching from Cape St. John, upon the eaſtern coaſt of Newfoundland, round the north part of it, to Cape Ray, on its weſtern ſide.

France reſtored to Great Britain all her acquiſitions during the war, in the Weſt Indies, excepting Tobago, which the latter ceded to her, reſtoring at the ſame time St. Lucia.

On the coaſt of Africa ceſſion was made to France of all the forts and ſettlements on the river Senegal, and in the neighbouring parts; for which France returned thoſe on the river Gambia.

The reſtorations to France in the Eaſt Indies were the moſt conſiderable, being all the places ſhe had loſt during the war, to which were added ſome conſiderable diſtricts near them. In this part of the world France had no equivalent to reſtore.

The moſt remarkable article of this treaty was that one by which Great Britain conſented that the ſtipulations concerning Dunkirk, formerly made at the peace of Utrecht, ſhould be annulled, and that France ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of that place in any manner ſhe might think proper.

The treaty with Spain did not meet with more approbation than that with France. Beſides Minorca in Europe, and Weſt Florida in America,

was yielded to that crown; for which the Bahamas, already retaken by the Engliſh, were the only return.

Theſe treaties underwent a ſtrict and ſevere examination in both Houſes of Parliament. Four hundred and fifty members were preſent in the Houſe of Commons, on the day appointed to take them into conſideration.

The abilities of Miniſtry and Oppoſition were carried on this occaſion to their fulleſt extent. The attack and defence of the peace called forth their reſpective exertions in a manner that had ſeldom been precedented, either in variety and copiouſneſs, or in ſtrength and animation of argument.

It was aſſerted on the part of Miniſtry, that the critical ſituation of pecuniary affairs in this country demanded an immediate termination of the war. The national debt was now riſen to the enormous ſum of two hundred and fifty millions; for which an intereſt of near nine millions and a half was annually paid. This intereſt, together with the civil liſt, and peace eſtabliſhment, would ſwell the national expences to little leſs than fifteen millions a-year, of which near two millions and a half were to be raiſed by additional taxes; thoſe already exiſting falling ſhort that ſum.

Our enemies, it had been ſaid, were in a ſtill worſe condition in that reſpect; but allowing the truth of that aſſertion, the difference of government militated ſo much in their favour, that granting they would incur great diſtreſſes by proſecuting the war, we ſhould experience much greater, were a public bankruptcy to enſue. The popular maxims of our conſtitution would throw us into univerſal confuſion, while the habitual ſubmiſſion to the ſupreme authority of the State, would, in the midſt of their hardſhips and ſufferings, keep them in tranquillity and order.

To theſe allegations Oppoſition replied, that it was now many years ſince a variety of ſpeculations had been made upon the public funds in this country. It had been predicted more than half a century ago, that they could not with ſafety be extended beyond the limits at which they ſtood at that period. Very wiſe and ingenious men had reaſoned againſt their increaſe in that ſtile. Even Sir Robert Walpole, an able calculator, ſeemed to coincide with that opinion. But experience had ſhewn the futility of all theſe apprehenſions. True it was our burthens were heavy; but they were borne with an acquieſcence far ſuperior to that which was found among the ſubjects of the inimical powers. In America, the various ſtates compoſing the union were full of diſcontents on account of the taxes laid upon them. Not only the commonalty, but their very rulers declared againſt them, moſt of the provincial aſſemblies having refuſed to pay the laſt aſſeſſment ordered by Congreſs. In Spain, the people were known to be extremely averſe to that profuſion of expence which had taken place in the operations of the preſent war, and complained loudly of the oppreſſive impoſts eſtabliſhed for thoſe purpoſes. In France, the public was no leſs clamorous on thoſe accounts. Remonſtrances from ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable corporate bodies had been preſented to miniſtry againſt the continuance of the war, founded on the inability of the kingdom to proſecute it.

The ſtate of the Britiſh funds was no ſecret to the enemy. Were the pecuniary circumſtances of this country in the deſperate condition in which they had been repreſented by the advocates of miniſtry, the enemy would not have been ſo ready to enter into negociation. But the fact was, they were conſcious that the intrinſic ſtrength of this nation was adequate to a much longer maintenance

of the conteſt, than was conſiſtent with their own intereſt, or with their ability to ſupport it; and for that reaſon, they were become more tractable than they had threatened to be. Had miniſtry known how to avail themſelves of the preſent temper and circumſtances of our adverſaries, theſe muſt, however numerous and ambitiouſly inclined, have conſented to much more favourable terms than thoſe which had been obtained.

The next point that came into debate was, the ſituation of this kingdom reſpecting its home defence at land. The deficiencies in the various corps of regulars and militia were repreſented ſuch, that thirty thouſand men would be wanted to ſupply them. The country was ſo exhauſted, or the people ſo unwilling to enliſt, that hardly any recruits could be procured. In ſuch circumſtances no offenſive operations could take place. Even on a ſuppoſition that men could have been obtained from Germany, it would not have been poſſible to tranſport them beyond the Channel, while our enemies occupied the ſeas with ſuch numerous fleets.

The anſwer to this was a direct contradiction of the whole. Great Britain and Ireland, it was firmly aſſerted, abounded with men fit for war, but who were invincibly averſe to ſerve againſt the Americans. In Germany levies might with money have been eaſily raiſed; and there was abundance of ſhipping, both for their conveyance and protection, to any part of the globe.

The condition of the navy was next adverted to. It was deſcribed by Miniſtry as debilitated in a moſt alarming degree; hardly able to defend the coaſts of Britain, and protect the moſt neceſſary branches of her commerce, much leſs to give effectual annoyance to the enemy; to whom, in point of number, its inferiority was ſtriking.

of the line was its utmoſt amount; and of theſe ſome were old and out of repair, and ſeveral were feebly manned. An addition of ſix was all that could have been made in the enſuing ſpring. But what was this force, when compared to that of the enemy? France and Spain counted already one hundred and thirty ſail of the line; to reinforce which ten more were in forwardneſs; and Holland would join them with twenty-five.

It was mere illuſion to cheriſh any hope of contending with ſo deciſive a ſuperiority. The diſtribution of this force was no leſs formidable. Had not peace taken place, a fleet of forty ſail of the line lay ready at Cadiz, to accompany a fleet of tranſports, with ſixteen thouſand men to the Weſt-Indies; where twenty ſhips of the line were waiting their arrival, with as many thouſand troops. In what manner were the dependencies of Great Britain in thoſe parts prepared to reſiſt ſuch an armament? Our naval ſtrength on that ſtation conſiſted of no more than forty-ſix ſail of the line. This certainly would not have ſufficed to prevent the enemy from making the attempts they had projected; and wherever they might effect a landing, we had nothing to oppoſe to ſuch an army as theirs. Inſtead of making an impreſſion on the enemy in that quarter, was it not highly probable that they would have invaded our own poſſeſſions, and rendered the preſent year much more calamitous to us, than the preceding one had been to them?

In the mean time, we had every reaſon to apprehend, that the naval ſuperiority of France in the Eaſt Indies, would ſtill continue. The reinforcements from Britain would at moſt give us an equality. But that was not ſufficient to obſtruct effectual the attempts of the enemy upon a coaſt ſo widely extended, and where ſome place might always

French had already ſet on ſhore, proved how difficult it would be to prevent others from following them. The force they had now with Hyder Ally exceeded the number of Europeans in the ſervice of Britain; and more were daily expected. The immenſe armies which that Prince would bring into the field, aided by the ſkill and diſcipline of his French allies, and by the actual ſtrength they would carry to his aſſiſtance, were objects of the moſt ſerious conſideration. If he had, by means of his own forces, been able to over-run the Britiſh territories in thoſe parts, what reaſonable hope could be formed, that we ſhould be able to reſiſt him, when ſeconded by troops and officers, equal in valour and experience to our own, and ſuperior in number?

When we turned our attention home, the proſpect was truly alarming. The Dutch were now exerting themſelves with all the diligence and induſtry that had always marked their character. Their motions had hitherto been ſlow, in hope of a reconciliation with their old friends; but that expectation being entirely vaniſhed, the partizans of France had now the direction of the Councils of that Republic; and would put forth its whole ſtrength at ſea unthwarted and uncontrouled. Without extending it beyond any probable bounds, it muſt, as ſoon as they applied themſelves with warmth to its re-eſtabliſhment, become ſhortly a formidable addition to the numerous fleets which France and Spain intended to employ in the Channel.

The combination of three ſuch maritime powers ought to awake us from all deluſive expectations of maintaining the empire of the ſea. Without diſputing the profeſſional eminence of our officers and ſeamen, human abilities had their limits; beyond which they muſt neceſſarily yield to ſuperior force.

That of our enemies was ſuch, that it would cruſh us by its very weight.

If we pondered duly, and with the coolneſs becoming the criticalneſs of our ſituation, on theſe various objects, we ſhould find that, notwithſtanding the ſea was emphatically ſtiled our element, it was at preſent a field of danger; upon which Prudence, on beholding the irreſiſtible ſtrength of our innumerable enemies, bids us beware from venturing with inconſiderateneſs and temerity, while we had it yet in our power to make a timely and honourable retreat.

Oppoſition animadverted with great aſperity upon all theſe aſſertions. The condition of the Britiſh navy was affirmed to be, both with reſpect to goodneſs and number, more flouriſhing and formidable than at any preceding period during the war. It conſiſted of one hundred and ten ſhips of the line, in excellent order, while the navies of France and Spain amounted only to fifteen more; and were known at the ſame time to be much inferior in ſoundneſs of conſtruction, and every other requiſite for ſervice. What additions might be made to this force in the courſe of the year, was a matter of uncertainty and mere conjecture. After two years of preparations and menaces, the Dutch marine ſtill continued very inconſiderable; and the augmentation of the French and Spaniſh fleets had always been over-rated.

Experience alone could be relied on in caſes of this nature; and the events of the laſt year had ſhewn that, with a naval force inferior to that we now poſſeſt, we had ſucceeded againſt the enemy, though ſtronger then than they would be this preſent year. Britain had at this hour ſuch officers and men in its fleets, as all the navies of Europe could not equal. Repeated experiment had eſtabliſhed

ſtanding the enemy exceeded us in number, this was no earneſt of victory either at land or ſea. Skill and bravery were the only ſure means of ſucceſs. In the firſt, Britiſh ſeamen had no competitors; and in the ſecond, few equals.

The plan of naval operations, projected for the ſubſequent ſeaſon, would have not only fruſtrated the deſigns of the enemy in the Weſt-Indies, but have enabled our commanders on that ſtation to act on the offenſive. A fleet of between fifty and ſixty ſail of the line had been provided for the Weſt-Indies; which was ſurely a ſtrength adequate for any purpoſe in that quarter; and which, without preſumption, it might be ſaid, the enemy would not dare to meet.

The accounts from the Eaſt-Indies amply confirmed how well we were founded in the good opinion we entertained of our people. With a continual ſuperiority in number of ſhips and men, the French Commander there, though a man of unqueſtionable abilities, and animated by a particular averſion to the Engliſh, had not been able to obtain any advantages in combat. It was highly probable that conſidering the equality in ſhipping, that would have taken a place this year in that quarter, the Britiſh Admiral would have been complete maſter of the ſea.

As to the apprehenſions ſo ſtrongly expreſſed of Hyder Ally and his French auxiliaries, they were far from being juſtly founded. The power of that Prince had been effectually broken in the two preceding campaigns; his beſt and veteran troops were almoſt deſtroyed, and his perſonal abilities were at preſent his chief dependence in the field. The officers and men now fighting for Britain in the Eaſt Indies were tried ſoldiers, of invincible valour, and conſummate experience. The natives trained up in the Britiſh ſervice, had profited ſo well by the

example and inſtructions of our people, that they behaved invariably upon every occaſion with no leſs firmneſs and knowledge of their duty. They conſtituted, together with our troops, a body of men far ſuperior in every military reſpect to any thing the French could produce in India.

Without diſparaging the French, it might be confidently aſſerted, that they had no cominanders in India to be placed on a competition with our own. Their principal ſtrength lay in the ſkilfulneſs of their engineers. Herein however they did no more than equal us. But in other branches of military ſcience, ſaving the meer regularity of diſcipline, we far exceeded them. Our officers and generals had by their long reſidence in that country had ſo many opportunities of improving their talents for war, that our army there abounded with men ſignally qualified for every department in their profeſſion.

Though numbers of the French officers and ſoldiers had ſerved in Europe, yet every country was attended with ſome peculiarities, that gave conſiderable advantages to thoſe who were acquainted with them. It was from local difficulties alone that the efforts of Great Britain in America had failed. By the ſame reaſon it was to be inferred, that the French would meet with no leſs obſtructions in India, which might through the courage and expertneſs of our troops be rendered inſurmountable.

Thus, upon a candid review of our ſituation in India, it appeared no ways on the decline. Whatever calamities had befallen us through the unſeaſonable diſcords among thoſe who had the management of our affairs, theſe were in a fair way of being reſtored to their former proſperity and ſplendor. Inſtead of feeling any alarm for the ſafety of theſe important poſſeſſions, we ought therefore to look upon

added, that while they continued in our hands, they would always furniſh the moſt abundant reſources of any foreign branches of our comerce. It was by their Eaſtern acquiſitions the Dutch had formerly riſen to ſuch a pitch of opulence and grandeur. It was by depriving us of our vaſt dependencies in that part of the globe the French propoſed to cut off the great ſources of our wealth, knowing them to be a principal means of ſupporting the war. But as experience had ſo clearly demonſtrated that we were able to retain them in defiance of their power and machinations, they ought, in lieu of being the ſubject of our fears, to operate as an inducement reſolutely to continue facing our enemies, till we had brought them to terms honourable and ſatisfactory to this country.

Though the French had contributed ſo ſucceſsfully to diveſt us of America, they muſt not expect to find the like number of friends and aſſiſtants in India: here we ſhould meet them on a more equal footing. They would be compelled to fight us on neutral ground, where we might hope for deciſive ſucceſſes, and not endure the mortification of gaining victories to no effect.

While this review of our affairs afforded ſo much encouragement, the proſpects nearer home were far from unfavourable. The defect of ſtrength for Channel ſervice had been much inſiſted on; but the combined efforts of France and Spain, when at their higheſt, had been found inadequate to the execution of their threats. They had been repeatedly foiled by leſs exertions than thoſe they would have had to encounter this year. The fleet for home defence was to have conſiſted of between thirty and forty of the ſtouteſt ſhips in the Britiſh navy, manned with the primeſt ſailors, and commanded by the ableſt officers in the nation.

When all theſe circumſtances were laid together, when it was conſidered how frequently the power of the enemy had been proved inſufficient for the accompliſhing of its objects, how much it had been always exaggerated, how cuſtomary it was become to under-rate our own, and yet how conſtantly it perſiſted in facing and overturning all the moſt material attempts of the enemy, when every returning year brought freſh inſtances of our ſucceſs in repelling them at home, and of our abilities to face them abroad, when, after all their vaunts, they had not made the leaſt impreſſion upon our coaſt, while we, on the other hand, not only ſought them in every other quarter of the globe, but had reſolutely bid them defiance on their own ſhores, when, in deſpite of their boaſted ſuperiority, we had thrice relieved Gibraltar, the firſt time by the defeat and deſtruction of the fleet ſent to oppoſe us, the ſecond by compelling them to fly into port, and the third by braving the whole united navies of the Houſe of Bourbon, in a manner that aſtoniſhed all Europe, and that was confeſſedly equal to the nobleſt victory, when ſuch things had been done, when the great commanders that had effected them were ſtill in being, while the ſpirit and capacity that had ſo glorioufly ſuſtained the honour and intereſt of the nation, ſtill ſubſiſted unſullied and unimpaired, with what face could men pretend to inculcate apprehenſions and deſpondency? What valid argument could be alledged for not continuing to place our confidence in thoſe who had fought ſo bravely and ſucceſsfully for their country, wherever they had been truſted with its ſervice and defence?

From the general conſideration of the ſituation of Great Britain, in regard to her finances, army and navy, the debate next adverted to the particular articles of the peace.

It was aſſerted by Miniſtry, that a fair and impartial review of theſe, would ſhew the treaty by which the war had been terminated, to be fully adequate to the expectations of all reaſonable men.

The Newfoundland fiſhery was now properly divided. Ceſſion had been made to the French of an excluſive right of this fiſhery within ſpecified limits; to which they were henceforth to be confined. By this meaſure an end was put to the diſſentions that ſo frequently aroſe between both nations, when they carried it on conjointly in the ſame places. The ſhare aſſigned to France was not however comparable to that retained by England, either in extent or value, as had been amply verified by thoſe who were competent judges.

The reſtoration of the two iſles of St. Pierre and Miquelon was an article of no conſequence. They could be of no ſervice to us; and would by no means enable the French, in time of war, to moleſt our fiſheries. They could eaſily be reduced; as on a ſurvey it appeared, that no fortification could be erected on them, ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the fire of any ſhip of force.

The articles relating to the Weſt-Indies were clearly to the advantage of Great Britain. St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat, St. Vincent, Dominico, and Granada, now reſtored to Great Britain by the peace, were unqueſtionably of much greater importance than thoſe of St. Lucia and Tobago; both which ought at the ſame time to be conſidered as reſtorations, rather than ceſſions. Tobago, previous to the peace of ſixty-three, belonged to France; to which we now returned it, together with our late conqueſt of St. Lucia. This latter iſland, though commanding a view of Martinico, could not be placed on a footing with Dominico; which, in caſe of hoſtilities, would effectually interrupt the communication

nico and Guadaloupe, the two principal French iſlands in theſe ſeas.

The poſſeſſion of Tobago ought, it had been ſaid, to have been inſiſted on, upon account of its abundant produce of cotton; an article of ſuch neceſſity in our manufactures. But they had long flouriſhed before the acquiſition of Tobago; and would continue to flouriſh no leſs, while we preſerved our other Weſt-India iſlands, and were able to afford the ſame price for the cotton of this iſle, as we did before.

By the ceſſions in Africa, France regained poſſeſſion of the river Senegal and its appendages, together with the iſland of Goree; for which ſhe reſtored the ſettlements on the river Gambia, together with the ſame participation in the gum trade that Britain had enjoyed before the year fifty-five. This trade, it was ſaid, no nation could monopoliſe: as much of it would remain to the Engliſh as they had ever had, or could want, without the neceſſity of being at the expence of ſo much money, and what was infinitely more valuable to this country, ſo many valuable lives, for the retention of places which, experience had ſhown, would not prevent other trading nations from ſharing in the productions of that coaſt.

In the Eaſt Indies conceſſions had been made to the French very beneficial to them, but by no means injurious to Great Britain. The only advantages they had gained, beſide the reſtoration of what had been taken from them, were ſome diſtricts to render Pondicherry and Karical places of more convenience than heretofore; and the permiſſion to drain the marſhes round Chandernagore, by incircling it with a ditch, to carry off the ſtagnated waters to the neighbouring rivers. Allowing the French to be gainers by the peace in the

affairs in thoſe parts, at the time it was made, required ſome condeſcenſion on our part. But notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, the power of the Engliſh in the Eaſt-Indies reſted on ſuch a firm foundation, in conſequence of the arrangements produced by the peace, that no danger could poſſibly be apprehended from their European enemies, any more than from the country powers at variance with them.

That article of the treaty, by which France was re-inveſted with the power of acting without interference at Dunkirk, was defended from the abſolute nullity of the reſtraints impoſed upon her, owing to the negligence of every Miniſtry in Britain, ſince the peace of Utrecht, when they took place, to procure their obſervance. This inattention proved of how little conſequence they were eſteemed. The truth was, that no expence or labour could render the harbour of Dunkirk of that importance to France, and danger to Britain, as had been repreſented. The chief aim of the French Court, was to wipe off the diſgrace of being ſubject at home to the controul of a foreign power. A requeſt of this nature ought not to be denied to a nation, with which we were upon terms of reconcilement, eſpecially as no detriment could reaſonably be apprehended from a compliance with its wiſhes in a point, where its honour was ſolely concerned.

After this review of the treaty with France, that with Spain was recapitulated in the like manner. To this monarchy reſtitutions were made of poſſeſſions originally her own; and of which the utility to this country was far from being of any material importance. Minorca was an uſeleſs burthen in peace, and in war lay expoſed to the whole circumjacent dominions of the Houſe of Bourbon. An

ſuccours could reach that iſland. Experience had ſhewn, that from this circumſtance alone it was untenable. In the war preceding that which was juſt concluded, France had captured it, when we had her alone to contend with, and preſerved, at the ſame time, our naval ſuperiority every where.

The Floridas indeed began to thrive; but after twenty years of labour and painful attention, notwithſtanding their vaſt extent, their produce was hardly deſerving of attention, when compared with that of many of our ſmalleſt dependencies. The balance of that branch of commerce might poſſibly amount to about fifty thouſand pounds in our favour; but was that an object worthy of contention, when ſo many ſuperior intereſts were at ſtake? Geographical dimenſions excepted, the Floridas had little to boaſt: They made a figure on the map; but the poſſeſſion of near three centuries, during which the Spaniards had remained undiſturbed maſters of thoſe countries, had experimentally proved that their intrinſic value muſt be very inconſiderable; or that the Spaniards knew not how to improve them. In ſuch hands, therefore, as they would be of little ſervice to their owners, they could be of no detriment to Great Britain.

On reviſing, without prejudice, the conceſſions to the Houſe of Bourbon, they were much greater in appearance than in reality: they did not leave the French or Spaniards poſſeſſed of more direct advantages than they could call their own before the war. Their commerce would receive no other increaſe than what might accrue from their intercourſe with the United States of America. But theſe knew their own intereſt too well, and purſued it too keenly, to open a correſpondence with any nation from which it was not clear they could derive profit. There was no country upon earth from

with moſt, if not with all of thoſe articles which they received from her antecedently to the war. The extenſive freedom which they enjoyed in almoſt every channel of commerce, previous to the breaking out of the late troubles, hardly left any others to be opened.

Thoſe who imagined that views of reſentment would influence their commercial proceedings, knew little of human nature. Intereſt alone was the foundation of all trade. Intereſt was a motive too powerful to reſiſt where whole nations were concerned: as it would breed diviſion among friends, it would alſo reconcile the bittereſt of foes. If France and Spain, in their aſſiſtance of America againſt Britain, had been prompted by the hope of monopoliſing the trade of its Colonies, they would find themſelves egregiouſly miſtaken. They would ſhare no more of it than was perfectly conſiſtent with the conveniency of the Americans, who certainly would, like other people, be guided in thoſe matters by the mere proſpect of gain, diveſted of all other conſiderations.

The diſquiſition on the treaty with America occaſioned no leſs heat than the former; both parties were equally vehement in their reſpective attempts to juſtify or to reprobate it.

The ground of defence on the ſide of miniſtry was, that the earneſt deſire of Parliament to put an end to the conteſt, had guided them in every ſtep they had taken in the framing of that treaty. It was univerſally allowed to be an indiſpenſible meaſure in the circumſtances of the nation. All that remained for them to do was to make it as conſiſtent with the dignity and welfare of Great Britain as the difficulties of the time would permit.

The country ceded to the United States was doubtleſs of a great extent; but the retention of any more than had been reſerved to Great Britain, would have proved in its immediate conſequence a ſource

of continual jars and diſſentions. The territories of both parties could never in that caſe have been clearly and indiſputably aſcertained; whereas by the preſent diviſion of that immenſe continent, each party knew preciſely its own ſhare. The limits of both were now marked by mountains, rivers, and lakes of ſuch magnitude, that it was impoſſible to miſtake them.

In this ceſſion, however, the intereſt of this country had been duly conſulted. The far greater portion of the fur trade, the moſt important one in the northern tracts of the American continent, had been preſerved. We ſhould enjoy it nearly without rivals, as it lay almoſt entirely on that ſide of the lakes that belonged to the Britiſh diviſion.

The profits derivable from the poſſeſſion of theſe northern diſtricts, had been much overrated. Canada itſelf, for inſtance, did not yield to Great Britain a balance in trade in any wiſe equivalent to its coſt: the expences incurred on account of that Province had for ſeveral years amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds annually; while the exports to it did not exceed the imports from it ſo much as four hundred thouſand pounds.

It had been complained that the ſpace of land included in the ceſſions to the United States, amounted to eighteen thouſand ſquare miles. But it ought to be no leſs noticed, that much of this was comprehended in mountainous and uncultivable waſtes, which no induſtry could improve; and that a large proportion of the reſt, would, from its ſituation, probably remain uncultivated for ages. But excluſive of theſe conſiderations, the experience of the preſent times manifeſted the danger of diſtant coloniſations. Were we to people them from home, it would prove a meaſure of much more expence than profit; were they to be aſſigned to the American

tween them and their countrymen would unavoidably involve us in a ſhort time in another quarrel.—By leaving theſe lands to the American States, the ſame diſpoſition to tillage and rural occupations would remain, which had ſo long employed the Coloniſts in ſuch branches of labour as had rendered them ſubſervient to our commercial views. In proportion as they extended their back-ſettlements, new demands would ariſe for a multitude of thoſe articles which either were not fabricated in America, or could be procured on more advantageous terms from abroad. While land might be obtained with facility, the natural propenſity of mankind to cultivate and dwell upon their own poſſeſſions, would render agriculture the principal and favourite purſuit of the inhabitants of the American continent, and furniſh an abundant ſource of employment for thoſe commercial nations with whom they maintained a correſpondence. Among theſe we ſhould for a variety of reaſons needleſs to be ſpecified, retain much the largeſt ſhare.

Penobſcot, a tract of land to the north of New England, had ſince it had been ceded to the Americans, been repreſented as remarkably productive of timber fit for the largeſt maſts; but thoſe who had officially ſurveyed the woods of that country, were ready to certify that they did not produce trees of ſufficient dimenſions for thoſe purpoſes.

Cenſures had been paſſed on the liberty granted to the Americans of fiſhing not only on the banks of Newfoundland, but alſo on the coaſts of the Britiſh dependencies in America. But that liberty did not in the leaſt interfere with our intereſt, or with our arrangements in that country. There were two fiſhing ſeaſons, the winter and ſummer; the firſt from their ſituation they neceſſarily enjoyed wholly to themſelves, undiſturbed by any other nation.—

wherever they thought proper, without the poſſibility of hindrance or moleſtation. But during the ſecond ſeaſon the advantages were all on our ſide, from our poſſeſſion of Newfoundland, where none but ourſelves were entitled to the drying and curing of fiſh. It was in conſequence of this benefit that we ſtood in no need of the liberty of carrying on any fiſhery on the coaſt of the countries belonging to the American States.

Much clamour had been raiſed againſt that article of the treaty by which the Congreſs was to recommend the caſe of the Loyaliſts to the conſideration of the different ſtates compoſing the American confederacy. But it was not in the power of Congreſs to engage for more. It was the ſtile in which they had uniformly addreſſed the ſeparate members of the union, ever ſince it had commenced. The jealouſy of the reſpective ſtates was ſuch, that no other had been uſed. It always had however met with the fulleſt deference, and would doubtleſs, in the preſent inſtance, command as much reſpect as in all others.

The caſe of the Loyaliſts was certainly deſerving of the moſt particular attention. No people in the Britiſh dominions were more worthy of the notice and care of government: but had not the recommendation of Congreſs been accepted, the war muſt have continued; the option lay ſolely between theſe two alternatives. It might appear ungenerous to give up this point to the American Commiſſioners, as we ſeemed thereby to abandon to the diſcretion of the enemy thoſe who had devoted themſelves to our ſervice with ſo much zeal and fidelity. But the fact was, they were by no means relinquiſhed. Were the requiſitions to be made by Congreſs in their favour diſregarded by the reſpective ſtates, there ſtill remained the native generoſity and

knew they could always appeal, with a certainty of meeting with a refuge from adverſity. The burthens of this country were great, but its magnanimity was ſtill greater. It bore them with alacrity for the ſupport of its honour, and would chearfully add to them for the relief of thoſe who had faithfully ſtood by it in the day of trial. But without anſwering for more than could be done, the Loyaliſts might depend on the ampleſt protection in this country, ſhould their own refuſe them a mild and honourable treatment. A very moderate proportion of the immenſe ſums annually laviſhed in hoſtilities againſt the Americans, would ſuffice to place thoſe among them who had ſuffered for their loyalty to Britain, on as comfortable a footing here as they had ever enjoyed at home. It was aſſerted on this occaſion, that leſs than half of the expenditure in one American campaign, would be adequate to the moſt generous compenſation that could be deſired by the Loyaliſts. It would indemnify them to the full for all their loſſes; and a reſidence in their own country excepted, would render their condition as proſperous as ever.

Such being the real ſtate of the caſe, nothing could be more illiberal and unjuſt, than to blame thoſe who had conducted the buſineſs of the peace, for having concluded it without inſiſting peremptorily on a reſtoration of the Loyaliſts to the unbounded poſſeſſion of all the rights and properties they had enjoyed antecedently to the conteſt. They who exclaimed with ſo much vehemence againſt this part of the treaty, ought to be told, that no expedient was left untried to obtain the fulleſt reſtitution of the Loyaliſts to their primitive ſituation. This point was urged preferably to all others. So keen and ardent were the Britiſh Commiſſioners upon this ſubject, that the very negociation itſelf was ſuſpended, and was once near being finally bro-

ken off, on the American Commiſſioners declaring, that it was not in their power to proceed any further than to engage on the part of Congreſs, that it ſhould earneſtly recommend the caſe of the Loyaliſts to the generous conſideration of the reſpective ſtates.

But would any prudent man have adviſed the continuation of a war, the ſucceſſes of which were evidently ſo precarious, while a termination could be put to it without wounding the national honour by a dereliction of thoſe friends whoſe demands were the only impediment to its concluſion. The facility with which theſe demands certainly could, and undoubtedly would chearfully be anſwered by an opulent, generous, and equitable people, left no room to heſitate long between the continuing to ſpill the blood of two nations, who, though divided by the ocean, were in every other reſpect but one, and the haſtening to reconcile them, and to bury in oblivion all the diſſentions and calamities under which they were labouring.

From theſe motives the negociation, which was almoſt expiring, on the ſole account of what related to the Loyaliſts, had been reſumed, and purſued with that alacrity which brought it ſo ſpeedily to a completion. This very ſpeed had indeed been heavily reprobated. It was no difficult taſk, ſaid the opponents to the terms of the peace, to ſettle a diſpute by making every conceſſion that was required by the adverſe party. But they who were ſo ſevere in their cenſure, ought to have reflected, that we were framing the conditions of a reconciliation, which in order to be permanent, ſhould bear no marks of any deſign or inclination on our part to retain the leaſt pretence to renew thoſe claims we had given up, or to detract from thoſe advantages which were yielded,

When we propoſed to enter into a treaty with the United States of America, it was not merely a ceſſation of hoſtilities we had in view, ſuch as might take place with other powers at variance with us; the object in contemplation was of a far more important and extenſive nature: we propoſed an abſolute abolition of all poſſible cauſes of enmity, and to give the Americans every proof in our power that we meant to treat them in the moſt amicable and benevolent manner they could expect and require.

Such being our deſire, ought we not earneſtly to ſtrive, by every obvious means, to convince the Americans of our ſincerity? Was it therefore conſiſtent with ſuch intentions to cavil about points, the moſt favourable deciſion of which in our favour, would only produce cauſes of diſcontent, and ſuſpicion that we ſtill entertained ideas repugnant to the ſentiments of amity we profeſſed, and that we waited only an opportunity to manifeſt them, to our advantage, and their detriment? If we ſeriouſly intended to recover the affection of the Americans, the readieſt and ſureſt method was to remove all occaſion of jealouſy, to treat them with a generous and manly confidence, and by ſetting them the example of forgiving and forgetting all that was paſt, to induce them to repay us with a cordial imitation.

Beſides theſe conſiderations, every one of which muſt have deciſive weight in the minds of diſpaſſionate men, there was another of infinite importance in the preſent juncture of affairs. We were involved in a conteſt ſuch as no nation ever experienced. We were contending with the two moſt powerful republics on the globe, Holland in the old, and America in the new world, and with the two moſt potent monarchies in the univerſe, France and Spain, True it was, we had through the valour of our people, and the greatneſs of our reſources, made hitherto an honourable reſiſtance: but we could not

reaſonably

reaſonably expect to oppoſe much longer ſucceſsfully ſuch an hoſt of enemies. The only probable means to extricate ourſelves from the multiplicity of difficulties ſurrounding us, was by breaking this terrible confederacy. It was only by ſuch a meaſure that Venice in the beginning of the ſixteenth, and Holland in the laſt century, eſcaped a deſtruction which would otherwiſe have been unavoidable. But circumſtances did not favour our endeavours to diſunite our enemies. They ſtill remained as firmly allied among themſelves, and as perſeveringly inveterate againſt this nation, as at the firſt moment of their confederacy. The only method to bring about its diſſolution, was therefore a peace upon the beſt terms that could be procured.

The preſent was unqueſtionably the moſt auſpicious moment to compaſs this deſirable end. The victory of Lord Rodney over the French in the Weſt Indies, the repulſe of the combined efforts of the Houſe of Bourbon at Gibraltar by General Elliott, and the relief of that place in the face of the whole naval ſtrength of France and Spain by Lord Howe, were events, that while they immortalized the names of thoſe great commanders, enabled Britain to demand honourable terms from her enemies. But though they were inclined, from our ſucceſſes, to meet us upon a more equitable footing than before this return of good fortune, they ſtill were too conſcious of their own ſtrength, to be ſo much caſt down, as to depart from their original plan, which was to ſever the Britiſh Colonies from the parent ſtate.

Nor were they alone in this determination. There was not a ſtate or potentate in Europe that did not openly or ſecretly entertain the ſame wiſhes. Whence this univerſal aim to diminiſh the power of Great Britain aroſe, was not the ſubject of diſcuſſion; but daily experience proved its exiſtence, even among

thoſe who did not explicitly rank themſelves among our foes.

Was it compatible with the ſafety of this country to remain any longer in ſuch dangerous, or to ſpeak more properly, in ſuch deſperate circumſtances, while a fair opportunity offered to ſhake off at once all incumbrances, and regain ſuch a footing of ſecurity, as to open a proſpect of retrieving all our loſſes, and recovering our former luſtre?

This happy opportunity, produced by the concurrence of the fortunate events juſt mentioned, ought therefore to be improved with all poſſible expedition, while the impreſſion they had made on our enemies was yet freſh and forcible. Were we to ſuffer the ſurpriſe at theſe unexpected blows to ſubſide, their confidence in the ſuperiority of ſtrength which they ſtill poſſeſſed might ſoon return, and operate much more to our diſadvantage than heretofore, from the additional care and arrangements with which the exerciſe of it would be accompanied. If we therefore conſulted our intereſt, we ſhould haſten to employ the preſent hour, and commit nothing to the chance of unpropitious accidents. Were we to meet with a reverſe of fortune, the change would, according to all the rules of probability, prove finally deciſive and fatal to this country, from the daily encreaſing multitude of its declared or clandeſtine enemies.

In anſwer to this juſtification of the terms of peace, it was warmly aſſerted, that when duly conſidered, they were much more favourable to our enemies than they had any reaſon to expect, as would fully appear by a circumſtantial examination.

That part of the coaſt of Newfoundland where the French were to enjoy an excluſive fiſhery, could not in reaſon be deemed leſs productive than that we retained. It had been ſpecifically demanded as

it were abſurd to imagine they would knowingly have contented themſelves with the worſt.

The iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ſuſceptible of more improvement in the article of fortification, and would prove of more utility in caſe of a war than had been repreſented. Their ſituation alone commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence. When put into that ſtate of ſtrength which France would certainly not omit to give them, they muſt evidently greatly moleſt our fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, and interrupt our navigation to Canada.

The ceſſion of Tobago and St. Lucia was a much more pernicious meaſure than people in general ſeemed aware of. In a commercial light, the firſt of theſe iſlands was of the higheſt importance: its cotton was the beſt in the Weſt Indies; the ſecond was a ſtation of which the uſefulneſs in war was continually manifeſted while in our poſſeſſion. It was a conſtant check upon the operations of the enemy in thoſe parts; it had enabled us eſſentially to watch the motions of their fleets, and, in conſequence, to obtain that ſignal victory which had altered the ſituation of affairs ſo much in our favour.

By giving up Senegal and Goree, the gum trade lay wholly at the diſpoſal of the French. On their repreſentation at the peace of ſixty-two, that without one of theſe places they ſhould be wholly deprived of it, we had generouſly conſented they ſhould retain one; but as they would now poſſeſs both, our excluſion from that trade followed of courſe, unleſs we ſubſcribed to their own terms. Gum was an article of indiſpenſible neceſſity in various branches of our manufactories, thoſe of ſilk and linen eſpecially. The monopoly of it ought not therefore to have been ceded to our principal rivals in commerce, as well as our moſt dangerous enemies.

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The ceſſions to France in the Eaſt Indies were treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Here the enemy had no equivalent to reſtore, and yet had obtained conceſſions of the moſt important nature. The grants of territory around Pondicherry and Karical were not only to be viewed in the light of additional conveniences, but as real acceſſions of power and influence to the French, and in no ſmall meaſure as humiliations to the Engliſh in the eyes of the natives.

This part of the treaty was repreſented as highly prejudicial to our intereſt in India. Britain engaged in a manner to become the protectreſs of France in that country: this was a ſtrain of complaiſance ill agreeing with good policy; and the more blameable, as the arms of France in India had been leſs proſperous than any where. A ſhort time would probably evince the erroneous conduct of thoſe who yielded with ſuch unneceſſary facility to the requeſt of a power, from which the experience of ages had taught us to apprehend every kind of enmity, whenever poſſeſſed of the ability to exerciſe it.

The permiſſion now granted to France of carrying on its trade in thoſe parts, in the ſame manner as it was done by the late French Eaſt India Company, was much too indefinite. It opened ſo large a field to their pretenſions, that we ſhould probably be ſoon obliged to oppoſe them by main force. Since the laſt peace we had enjoyed the privilege of ſearching their veſſels, and prohibiting the importation of arms; but if they were now to be releaſed from this examination, they would hardly abſtain from conveying to Chandernagore all that was neceſſary to render it a ſtrong and formidable ſettlement; which from its vicinity to our own, would neceſſarily endanger their ſafety, as well as detriment their trade.

The ſuppreſſion of the various ſtipulations regarding the harbour of Dunkirk, framed with ſo much ſolicitude at the peace of Utrecht, was adverted to with no leſs aſperity. Theſe ſtipulations were looked upon as ſo neceſſary at that time, that unleſs Lewis the Fourteenth had conſented to them, no peace would have been made. The wiſdom of our miniſtry at that epocha foreſaw the conſequence of ſuffering this harbour to remain in the condition it had been put by that monarch. Its baſon was ſufficiently deep and capacious to admit of at leaſt thirty ſhips of great burthen. It was from thence an expedition was attempted in favour of the Pretender upon the coaſt of Scotland in the year ſeventeen hundred and eight. The fleet employed upon this occaſion conſiſted of a number of veſſels of conſiderable ſize.

But what chiefly rendered Dunkirk an object of apprehenſion, ſhould it be reſtored to its former ſtate, was its proximity to the ſhores of England; it faced in a manner the mouth of the Thames; nothing could iſſue out of that river unobſerved by that port. It would in time of war become a ſtation for the ſtouteſt privateers, and keep the trade of the Britiſh metropolis in continual alarms.

In this manner had France, though unſucceſsful in the Eaſt, and defeated in the Weſt Indies, when deprived of her fiſhery in the North American ſeas, and cut off from the moſt lucrative branches of the African trade, when her marine began viſibly to decline, and ours to recover its aſcendancy, in this inferiority of circumſtances, had her negociators been able to frame a treaty as advantageous to her as if the ſuperiority lay entirely on her ſide.

The treaty with Spain underwent alſo ſome very ſevere ſtrictures. By the ceſſion of Minorca we had loſt an iſland of the utmoſt importance to the ſup-

men of war, privateers, and merchantmen found a harbour to refit in case of damages received in fight, and a certain refuge from the enemy.

Whatever might be pleaded for the cession of West Florida, the surrendering of East Florida could not be justified. It was a spacious country, had an extensive coast, with some excellent harbours, remarkable for not being infested with the ship worms so common in the West Indies. It commanded an immense track of navigation by its peninsular position between the Gulf of Mexico and the coast of North America, and must in the hands of an enemy prove a great annoyance to our Jamaica trade. It possessed also no few internal resources, and was capable of much improvement. The people settled in it were firmly attached to the British government. But what chiefly recommended it at present, was the conveniency of its situation for the receptacle of the persecuted Loyalists. Here, without wandering far from their native soil, they would have found an asylum much more to their satisfaction than the uncomfortable climate of Nova Scotia.

The terms granted to America met in their turn with no less censure than the preceding. It was bitterly complained that the limits assigned to the dependencies of Britain and the United States, left these in possession of a multiplicity of strong places, constructed and fortified at a vast expence to this country, and which there appeared no valid reason for having ceded.

In consequence of this cession the principal part of the fur trade would fall into the hands of the Americans, notwithstanding our endeavours to represent the matter otherwise. We might have retained it wholly to ourselves, by keeping the immense tracts thus lavishly parted with to our enemies, who

conſiſtently with the circumſtances they were in at the time of treating. We then held Charleſtown in South Carolina, which gave us in a great meaſure the command of that province. We were maſters of New York and the neighbouring iſles, eſpecially the large and important one of Long Iſland. Theſe being the head quarters of the Britiſh armies, and lying in the centre of North America, kept the whole continent in awe. The Indian countries and nations contiguous to the back-ſettlements were in our intereſt, and in the Colonies themſelves we had numbers of zealous friends and adherents. Even among thoſe who had profeſſed themſelves our enemies, multitudes were heartily deſirous of terminating the war at all events, and did not ſcruple openly to expreſs their ſentiments.

The ſtatement of the expences on account of Canada included thoſe of the war. The balance of the trade carried on in that province was greatly in our favour, and promiſed a conſiderable increaſe. The merchants who were ſettled there, had from the conviction of the vaſt profits to be derived from the commerce they had eſtabliſhed in the interior parts of the country, erected large magazines in the principal places of trade along the great lakes, and had laid out capital ſums to fortify and render them convenient. Theſe would now ſtand them in little ſtead, from the ſuperior ſhare which the Americans could not fail to derive of all the benefits produced in future by a commercial intercourſe with the Indians, in conſequence of the prodigious extent of territory ſo needleſsly ceded by the treaty.

By theſe ceſſions we not only ſuffered a deprivation of the far greateſt part of our fur trade, but incurred a diſgrace that ought to wound ſtill deeper the feelings of a ſpirited people. Upwards of twenty tribes of Indians in our alliance were de-

for their ſecurity againſt the reſentment of the Americans.

The right of fiſhing on all the Britiſh coaſts of America was allowed to the ſubjects of the United States in common with thoſe of Great Britain, while theſe were denied the ſame privilege on the coaſts of the former, notwithſtanding the profeſſions ſo ſtrongly ſpecified in the treaty, that its purport was to conſult impartially the reciprocal advantages of both parties.

In return for the liberality, or rather profuſion with which Britain had made ſo many conceſſions, the only article of any conſequence inſiſted upon in its favour, had been denied with as much haughtineſs and inflexibility, as if no advantages had been granted to America, and as if the peace was a meer act of condeſcenſion on the part of Congreſs.

The demand of reſtitution to the Loyaliſts of their property, confiſcated during the war for their fidelity to our cauſe, had been refuſed by the American Commiſſioners, on pretence that neither they nor Congreſs itſelf could comply with it, any farther than by a recommendation of it to the different ſtates. If ſuch were the powers of Congreſs, or of thoſe whom it commiſſioned to treat on its behalf, they were wholly inadequate to the proper purpoſes of treating, and tended only to delude thoſe with whom they pretended to negociate.

This demand was in itſelf ſo juſt, and founded on ſo many hiſtorical precedents, that Congreſs could not poſſibly plead a want of foreſight that it would be made. It had been uſual in all ages, on the ceſſation of a civil war, to grant a general amneſty. No other motive but thoſe of the baſeſt and moſt barbarous revenge, could induce men to expreſs an averſneſs to ſo humane and neceſſary a meaſure. Next to the cruelty of ſuch a refuſal was the meanneſs of thoſe who ſubmitted to it.

Circumſtances empowered this nation to have acted with ſuch firmneſs, as to compel the Americans to relax of their obſtinacy in this particular. Until they had conſented to a generous treatment of the Loyaliſts, we ought to have withheld the reſtitution of the many ſtrong places ſtill remaining in our hands, and made the ſurrender of them the price of their acquieſcence in our demands in favour of the brave and faithful people who had ſuffered ſo much upon our account.

Neither France nor Spain could in the nature of things have countenanced the republican inexorableneſs diſplayed by America upon this occaſion. Fidelity to the crown was a virtue too much prized in monarchies to loſe any of its worth even in the eye of an hoſtile Court. Thoſe of Verſailles and Madrid valued it too much in their own ſubjects, not to ſhow it reſpect in thoſe of a monarch, with whom, though they were at war, yet they had always teſtified a ſufficient readineſs to obſerve the laws of juſtice and generoſity reciprocally eſtabliſhed between civilized nations.

No apology could be made or admitted for ſo ſpiritleſs and flagitious a compliance to the Americans. They affected to conſider the Dutch, in particular, as models worthy of imitation in the manner with which they emancipated themſelves from the Spaniſh yoke. But the Dutch had certainly ſet them no examples of vindictiveneſs: when they obtained a recognition of their independence, they generouſly agreed to an act of oblivion, and even reſtored to thoſe who had adhered to the cauſe of Spain, their property of every denomination that had been confiſcated, or the full value of it.

Spain had twice acted with no leſs lenity towards the Province of Catalonia; the firſt time on its revolting from that crown, and calling in the aſſiſtance of France, during the laſt century, and afterwards

wards on its refuſing to acknowledge the Bourbon family at the beginning of the preſent. In both caſes all puniſhment was remitted on its returning to obedience: life, poſſeſſions, laws, and immunities remained inviolate.

England had conducted itſelf in the ſame manner at the Revolution towards that party in Ireland which had ſided with James the Second. No proſcriptions took place, and upon ſubmitting to government, every man was admitted to the undiſturbed enjoyment of his property.

With theſe and ſo many other examples before them, nothing could be more ungenerous and inhuman than the behaviour of the Americans towards thoſe of their countrymen who had differed from them in opinion during the late conteſt, and had in conſequence eſpouſed the cauſe of Britain. It were more honourable for their character, as well as more conſiſtent with good policy, to efface at once all remembrance of internal diſcords, and bring about a cordial reconciliation of all parties among them. This could only be accompliſhed by lenient meaſures; all others were equally diſgraceful to thoſe who adopted, and to thoſe who having it in their power, did not reſolutely prevent them.

Such were the principal ſtrictures paſſed by oppoſition on the terms of peace. They were anſwered on the part of miniſtry, by referring their opponents to the juſtification of it already laid before them. This they firmly contended muſt prove in every reſpect whatſoever, reaſonable and ſatisfactory to all who diveſted themſelves of party conſiderations, and would be at the pains of a candid and diſpaſſionate examination.

They inſiſted, in particular, that by adverting with due attention to the tenour of the treaty, it was manifeſt that neither the Loyaliſts nor the Indian allies of Britain were relinquiſhed in the man-

ner ſo invidiouſly repreſented. It had been carefully provided by an article framed for that very purpoſe, that no individual whatever ſhould ſuffer either in his perſon or property on account of the part he might have taken in the war. By this it was clear, that though what was paſt could not be recalled, yet no ſeverities in future would be exerciſed againſt the friends of Britain, and that their preceding conduct was ſecured from all retroſpect.

As to the Indians in our alliance, they remained on the ſame footing as before the conteſt. Thoſe that were included within the line of partition aſſigned to the United States, were no more delivered up to theſe than thoſe within the boundaries preſcribed to Britain were made over to this latter.—The obvious meaning of the treaty in adjuſting theſe limits being no more than that neither of the contracting parties ſhould form any ſettlements, or carry on any trade beyond them.

It could not therefore be aſſerted that the peace was either diſhonourable or diſadvantageous, conſidering the ſituation in which the imprudence and obſtinacy of the miniſtry that purſued coercive meaſures againſt America had placed Great Britain. To this miniſtry, and to no other, would any honeſt man lay the imputation of having brought this country into thoſe difficulties which had made it neceſſary to agree to thoſe conceſſions that were ſo heavily cenſured? But whoever thought proper to reprobate theſe, it ill became thoſe men to aſſume ſuch a liberty, from whoſe mal-adminiſtration they originally aroſe.

Nor were the advocates of miniſtry wanting in inſinuations that it was not ſo much the peace, as the places and power of thoſe who had brought it to a concluſion, that irritated their opponents. This topic was urged with a warmth and acrimony not inferior to what had been experienced on any former

mer occaſion between the contending parties. Nothing, it was ſaid, but the luſt of power could have wrought a coalitition between men ſo diſcordant in principle as thoſe who were united at preſent againſt miniſtry. They had for years oppoſed each other with a violence that bordered upon indecency: they had differed in every meaſure, in every idea relating to the government of this country. Their mutual rancour hurried them into perſonalities and invectives that hardly knew any limitations. Whence could therefore ſo ſtrange and unnatural a reconciliation between them proceed, but from ſelfiſh and intereſted motives?

Oppoſition retorted theſe reproaches with no leſs aſperity. It was not the peace, ſaid they, which they condemned; it was the manifeſt precipitation with which it was concluded that offended all cool and reaſoning individuals. It was the ſcandalous facility with which miniſtry had yielded to the demands of our enemies, that induced men of all parties to join in the ſevereſt cenſure upon them. This union of ſentiments in reprobating them, was produced by the general indignation that was felt at their conduct. Its abſurdity and its weakneſs were ſo apparent, that even thoſe who could accord in nothing elſe, agreed with the moſt perfect unanimity in ſtigmatizing the framers of a peace which was evidently founded on ignorance and puſillanimity. No miniſtry that was not totally blind to the intereſts of this nation, and to the advantageous circumſtances in which it ſtood at the time of the treaty, would have conſented to the terms which had rendered it ſo odious. No man of ſpirit, in any circumſtances, would have ſubmitted to thoſe articles in it that were ſo unworthy of the dignity and character of the Britiſh nation.

From theſe cauſes alone aroſe that coalition ſo hateful to miniſtry. This coalition, ſhould it be

improved into a ſincere reconciliation of the parties that compoſed it, would prove a moſt happy and auſpicious event to this country in its preſent ſituation. Coalitions of this kind had more than once ſaved it in the hour of danger. It was by the union of different parties during the laſt war, that its termination was ſo glorious. The great Lord Chatham was at the head of this coalition; and it was an acquiſition of honor to his character that he ſo readily acquieſced in ſo beneficial a meaſure.

It was by a ſtill more univerſal coalition the Revolution itſelf was effected, and the foundation laid of that political eſtabliſhment which this country has ſo much reaſon to prize. From theſe, and other precedents that might be adduced, it was highly unjuſt to caſt a reproach upon men for laying aſide their private animoſities, and uniting for the ſake of the public. Men that were capable of ſuch a ſacrifice of their feelings, inſtead of being accuſed of ſelfiſhneſs, deſerved to be held out as patterns of the moſt real and uſeful patriotiſm.

The perſons who were now at the head of oppoſition, had lately been the principal leaders of the two parties that had ſo long divided us. This was unqueſtionably the moſt deſirable circumſtance in their preſent coalition. The acknowledged eminence of their reſpective abilities would carry ſuch a weight and influence into the tranſaction of buſineſs, as would enable them, ſhould they be advanced to power, to conſtitute what was moſt wanted in this country, a miniſtry poſſeſſed of popular eſteem and confidence. This alone could effectually ſtrengthen the hands of government, and terminate thoſe diſcords that had been ſo fatal to this nation.

A variety of other arguments were produced in this celebrated conteſt, which was ſupported with

a whole night. It was eight in the enſuing morning before a diviſion took place; when the miniſterial addreſs of the peace was rejected by a majority of ſixteen; two hundred and eight voting for, and two hundred and twenty-four againſt it.

In the Houſe of Lords miniſtry was more fortunate: the addreſs moved by them was carried in their favour by ſeventy-two votes againſt fifty-nine.

Four days after this debate, oppoſition, encouraged by its ſucceſs on the ſeventeenth, moved in conſequence of it, that the conceſſions made to the enimies of Great Britain, were greater than they were intitled to, on a comparative view of their ſituation and that of this country.

This motion revived the preceding altercation; but oppoſition again remained victorious, by a majority of ſeventeen: one hundred and ninety voting for miniſtry, and two hundred and ſeven againſt them.

Thus ended the parliamentary debates occaſioned by the treaty of peace. They were no leſs vehement, and of much longer duration out of Parliament. An inundation of writings filled the public on this ſubject; and rendered it for a long time a cauſe of inceſſant bickerings and diſputes, which the many intereſting objects which have ſince occupied the attention of this country have not yet completely quieted.

In the mean time a negociation had been opened with the States-General at the Hague. On the diſſolution of the miniſtry in the end of March eighty-two, propoſals of a ſeparate and immediate peace were laid before them by that which ſucceeded.—But notwithſtanding the cordiality and condeſcenſion which accompanied this offer, the councils of the States were under ſuch influence, that it was rejected, though the conditions proffered them

require being a renewal of the famous treaty of ſixteen hundred ſeventy-four, by which they would have ſecured all their requiſitions from this country.

At the cloſe of the year, after the proviſional treaty with America had been concluded, and while thoſe with France and Spain were in forwardneſs, the Dutch miniſters at Paris propoſed a negociation with the Britiſh miniſter at that Court, on the terms offered to them in the month of April preceding; but they met with a refuſal in their turn, and were given to underſtand, that having put a negative on the endeavours of Great Britain to effect a particular reconciliation with Holland, that country had no right to expect any more than to be placed on the ſame footing as other powers.

Preliminary articles of peace being however agreed upon between Great Britain, on the one part, and by France and Spain on the other, in January enſuing, a ſuſpenſion of arms took place at the ſame time with reſpect to Holland; by which the Dutch were included in the general pacification. But notwithſtanding the definitive arrangements among the other belligerent powers, in conſequence of the reſtoration of peace, were finally concluded by the commencement of September, it was not till then that the States-General came to a preliminary ſettlement with Great Britain.

The terms of the treaty were a reciprocal reſtitution of all the places and territories taken on either ſide, the ſettlement of Negapatnam in the Eaſt Indies excepted: this was to remain in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain, unleſs an equivalent was given in its ſtead.

The navigation of the Eaſtern ſeas was to be free and unmoleſted to the Britiſh ſhipping in all parts.

Theſe two articles were the only objects deſerv-

remainder conſiſting of the mutual reſtoration of priſoners, and of ſuch other adjuſtments and ſtipulations as are uſual in all treaties of peace.

It was obſerved on this occaſion, that the ill ſucceſs predicted by politicians to the Dutch, on their ſiding againſt the Engliſh, was ſtrictly and literally verified. The Seven United Provinces, hurried away by a blind enthuſiaſm in favour of the United States of America, and faſcinated, as it were, by a ſimilitude of appellation, imagined that there was a near reſemblance in the cauſes that occaſioned, as well as in the circumſtances that accompanied the change of their reſpective governments from a monarchy into a republic.

In conſequence of this idea, they forgot the natural ties that bound their intereſt ſo firmly with that of Great Britain. Impelled by the narrow maxims of a commercial jealouſy, improvement of all concerns but thoſe of the preſent hour, they unwiſely gave ear to the clamours of an intereſted faction, deluded by the proſpect of benefits, that were at beſt tranſitory and precarious.

No ſtate in Europe had a fairer opportunity of diſplaying both its policy and ſpirit. An honourable adherence to the intereſt of Great Britain, which the experience of two centuries had ſo forcibly proved to be their own, would have operated as an effectual check upon that power it chiefly behoves them to keep within bounds. No great exertions would have been requiſite for the due accompliſhment of this purpoſe: little more, perhaps, than a reſpectable footing of neuterality, or, at moſt, a reſolute and explicit determination to preſerve inviolate, in caſe of real neceſſity, their friendſhip and engagements with this country, would have ſufficed, in conjunction with the acting ſtrength of Britain, to deter its enemies from forming that

combination which coſt it ſuch a profuſion of blood and treaſure to reſiſt.

A conduct framed upon ſuch principles, would, in the perſuaſion of competent judges, have anſwered every deſirable end. It would have upheld that character of conſiſtency and foreſight, for which they had ſo long and ſo deſervedly been noted. It would have ſecured that independent ſituation which they had hitherto ſo happily maintained; and it would have prevented the degradation of being at length compelled to commit themſelves to the protection of a power whoſe ambition was proverbial in the political world, and the effects of which no people had more woefully experienced than themſelves.

Next to Holland, that member of the confederacy againſt Britain which ſuffered moſt was Spain. The recovery of Minorca, and of the Floridas, was but a poor compenſation for the prodigious expence and loſs of men incurred at Gibraltar, and in the various naval expeditions and manifold exertions that monarchy was obliged to make, in purſuance of its engagements with France and its American allies.

What rendered its conduct the more blameable in the eyes of all ſound politicians, and of far the greateſt majority of its own people, was the dangerous ſituation to which the iſſue of the war placed the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in America. Europe has but one idea on this ſubject; which is, that Spain acted with the higheſt imprudence in contributing to the independence of the Britiſh Colonies. It will, in all likelihood, be the firſt power that will experience the conſequence of a proximity to a people that inherit in a conſpicuous degree the courage and enterpriſing diſpoſition of the nation from which they draw their origin, and that have already given ſufficient proofs that they will omit no opportunity of extending their limits, and carrying their com-

merce as far as their power and circumſtances will enable them.

France itſelf, though it compaſſed that object ſo long and ſo ardently in its wiſhes, the diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire, was deemed at the period of the peace, to have paid much too dear a price for the attainment of this end. The reſources of that kingdom were ſo exhauſted, and its finances ſo completely reduced, that in the beginning of October eighty-three, a month after the definitive treaty of peace had been ſigned by the reſpective parties, the Bank of Paris, ſupported by the whole ſtrength of government, ſtopped payment.

But excluſive of this event, the alarmingneſs of which the French have endeavoured in vain to extenuate, ſtrong indications ſoon appeared in a variety of inſtances, how incredibly ſhort of their expectations thoſe benefits would prove, which they were ſo ſanguine in promiſing themſelves upon the emancipation of the Britiſh Colonies from their dependence on the parent ſtate.

Nor did the United States of America appear in the eye of many ſagacious obſerves, to have obtained any real advantages by the alteration of their political ſyſtem. Whatever might be their future deſtiny, it was evident that years would paſs before they could arrive at a permanent and ſatisfactory ſettlement in their internal affairs, and recover from the diſorder into which they had been thrown by the violent ſtate of hoſtilities in which they had ſo long continued. Their commerce, on which they founded ſuch extenſive proſpects, would probably long feel the want of the ſuſtaining hand of Britain, and afford them complete proofs that their ſeparation from this country was not attended with thoſe beneficial conſequences that had been held out to them with ſo much confidence.

Britain, on the other hand, though deprived of thoſe Colonies ſhe had planted and reared with ſo

much

much care, and protected with ſo much glory, ſtill remained an object of terror and admiration to all her enemies. With a ſpirit ſuperior to all difficulties, and with reſources, though deeply tried, yet far from exhauſted, ſhe ſtill appeared great and reſpectable. From their conſciouſneſs of the ſtrength and courage ſhe yet poſſeſſed, her opponents were no leſs, if not even more deſirous to put an end to the quarrel than herſelf. They fully ſaw ſhe was able and determined to continue it, ſooner than ſubmit to a degradation of her character, by accepting of ſuch terms as they had propoſed in the height of their expectations to impoſe upon her.

The events of the laſt campaign dwelt ineffaceably on their reflections. The ſucceſſes obtained by Great Britain, and the valour through which they were accompliſhed, had fixed the attention of all Europe, and extorted the applauſe even of many who had hitherto appeared indifferent to her fate; France and Spain in particular, were not without apprehenſions, that the other European powers not immediately intereſted in this conteſt, and beyond the reach of their influence, might at length open their eyes to the danger to which they expoſed themſelves, by permitting the Houſe of Bourbon to carry on its deſigns againſt England uncontrouled.

Swayed by theſe conſiderations, nor leſs by the domeſtic diſtreſſes ariſing from the deranged ſtate of their finances, they came to the reſolution of deſiſting from the vaſt pretenſions they had formed, and of contenting themſelves with the grant of independence to the Coloniſts of North America; leaving to theſe the more arduous taſk of rendering, if it were poſſible, this ſciſſion of the Britiſh empire beneficial to them, and detrimental to Britain.

Whatever ſtrictures may have been paſſed upon the terms agreed on between Great Britain and the other belligerent powers, there was a time when it

was

was much doubted by the generality of people, both at home and abroad, whether peace could ever be purchaſed without making far greater ſacrifices. Though the conceſſions made to the enemies of this country might perhaps have been leſs, they were by no means conſidered throughout Europe as diſparaging to the Britiſh nation. It was thought, on the contrary, that the confederacy, by cloſing ſo readily with them, betrayed their apprehenſions of what might prove the conſequence of continuing hoſtilities, and from that motive determined to put a concluſion to them, upon the moſt favourable conditions they could procure.

Such, it was judged, were the reaſons that induced them to enter into negotiations for peace, under the oſtenſible mediation of the Emperor of Germany, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

In this manner was terminated the moſt important war that had been waged ſince the diſcovery of the new world. Both hemiſpheres ſeemed intimately conſcious how deeply they were concerned in its iſſue. In Europe, at its very commencement it was fully perceived, that were Britain to loſe the ſovereignty over her Colonies, a new ſyſtem of politics muſt neceſſarily ariſe, which would probably diffuſe itſelf in proceſs of time to every part of the globe.

In this great revolution, the European ſtates poſſeſſed of dominions in America, beheld an immenſe portion of the earth, hitherto ſubject to their obedience, and ſubſervient to their deſigns, animated by the ſucceſsful example of a numerous proportion of its inhabitants, to throw off this yoke, and claim independence. An event of this kind, by confining them to the limits of their own country, would of courſe produce an univerſal alteration of their politics and intereſts, and

oblige

oblige them to adopt new maxims of conduct both in their domeſtic and foreign concerns.

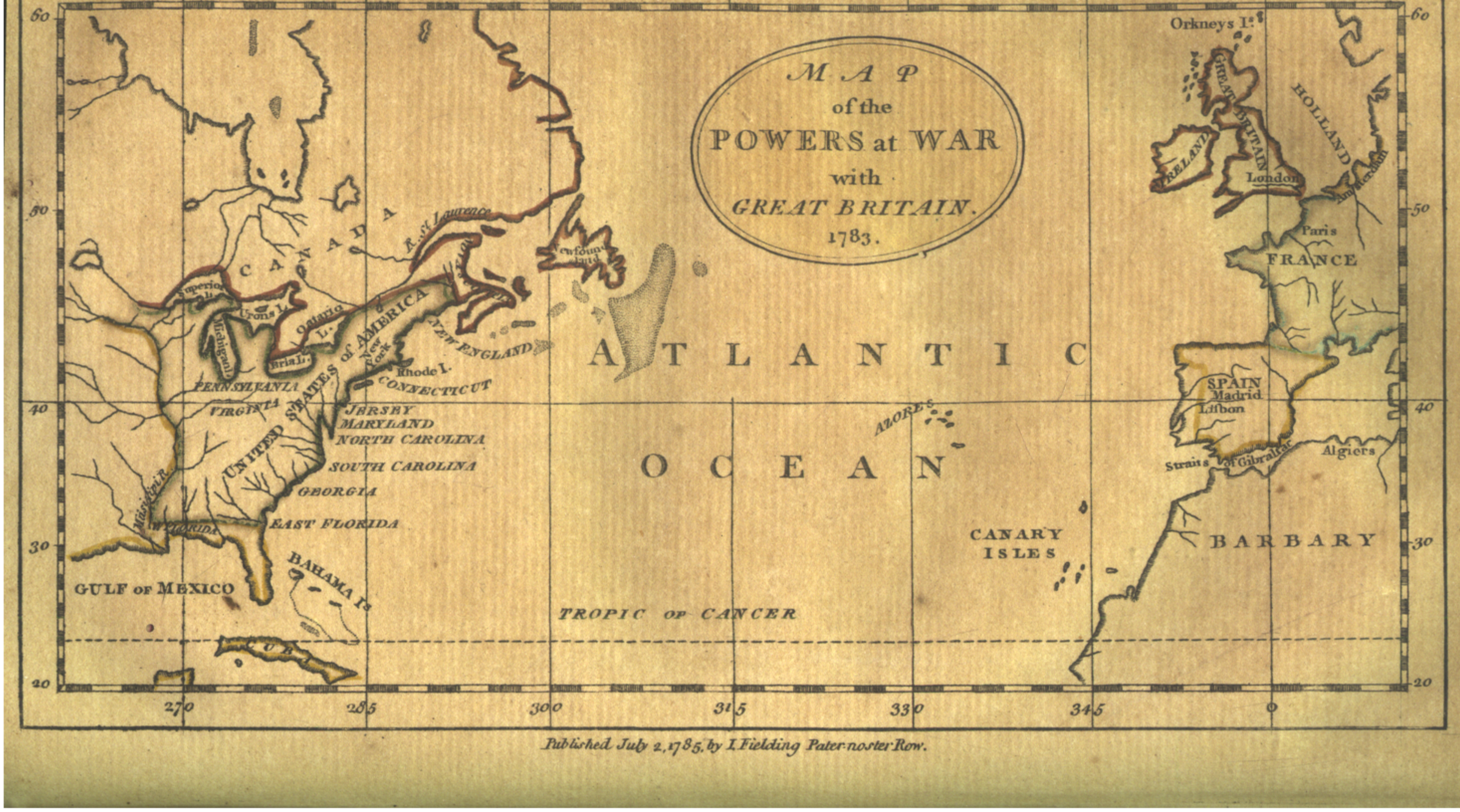
Thoſe powers, on the other hand, who had no territories in America, ſtill would greatly participate in the effect of this mighty change, through the connexions already ſubſiſting, and the new correſpondence that would enſue in conſequence of it, between the European nations, in every branch of political and commercial intercourſe.

Great Britain, in the mean while, though ſeemingly the moſt liable to be affected by this immenſe loſs of territory, would probably, through the excellence of her conſtitution, and the wiſdom of her government, but, above all, through the genius, the induſtry, and the perſevering diſpoſition of her people, retain the advantages and conſequence that had ſo long reſulted from them, and ſtill maintain the figure ſhe had made among the European powers.

Among thoſe truths which it moſt concerns mankind to know, the Britiſh nation had conſpicuouſly proved, that the ſplendour and felicity of a ſtate does by no means depend on the extent of its territorial poſſeſſions, ſo much as on the improvement of thoſe opportunities which are derived from nature and ſituation. Theſe were benefits of which no viciſſitudes of fortune could deprive this country; and it was upon the unvarying experience of their paſt efficacy, the confidence of its future proſperity was founded.

This truth had at no time been ſo powerfully elucidated, as during this terrible conteſt. Diſpoſſeſſed of thoſe Colonies, upon which, it had been repeatedly affirmed, her greatneſs principally depended; oppoſed by them with a force equal in ſtrength and ſpirit to that of her moſt formidable enemies; aſſailed by theſe in every quarter; attacked by her ancient allies, and abandoned by all the

MAP of the POWERS at WAR with GREAT BRITAIN. 1783.



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he world; in this tremendous ſituation, cut off from a variety of her former commercial reſources, and relying wholly on herſelf, ſhe ſtill found means to confront the moſt powerful combination that ever was recorded in hiſtory.

She ſought her foes by ſea and land, wherever ſhe expected to find them. The damages done to them far exceeded thoſe ſhe received. On the ſea eſpecially their trade was ruined, and their navies ſuffered loſſes incomparably ſuperior to her own. The balance againſt them at the cloſe of the war amounted to twenty-eight ſhips of the line, and thirty-ſeven frigates, carrying altogether near two thouſand guns.

Having ſuſtained this dreadful conflict with ſo much glory, and terminated it ſo honourably without the leaſt aſſiſtance or interference, againſt ſuch an hoſt of enemies, ſhe came out of all her difficulties not only without the leaſt blemiſh to her reputation, but with an increaſe of fame that raiſed her character to a higher degree of eminence than it had ever obtained before.

In the general war at the opening of this century, for the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain, ſhe was aſſiſted by Holland in humbling Lewis the Fourteenth. During the war carried on under the adminiſtration of Lord Chatham, ſhe had a potent ally in the King of Pruſſia; but in the preſent, ſhe ſtood alone and unſupported againſt three of the greateſt powers in Europe, abetted by all the reſt, at the ſame time that ſhe was involved in a moſt violent and expenſive quarrel with her American Colonies, now became through their union a formidable ſtate.

From this convincing proof of her intrinſic ſtrength, and of the immenſity of her own reſources, diveſted of all external aid, it was not doubt-

public debts, ſhe would, by a prudent management of her affairs, ſtill continue to flouriſh as much as ever. As ſhe had in the midſt of her ſevereſt trials kept her national faith with all thoſe that had entruſted her with their property, there was no ground to ſuſpect ſhe would be reduced to the neceſſity of forfeiting it when delivered from the perplexities that had compelled her to make ſuch additions to the vaſt ſums ſhe already owed. Prodigious as this accumulation of loans for ſo many years muſt appear in the eyes of the world, there is not a ſtate in Europe in whoſe funds individuals place their treaſures with ſo much confidence as in thoſe of Britain.

Such were the ideas and reaſonings of the moſt intelligent politicians both in England and in foreign parts, at the period of the late pacification. It remains to be hoped, that the rulers of this nation will by their wiſdom, in the management of its future concerns, do full credit to the judgment and ſagacity of thoſe who have formed ſuch auſpicious expectations in its favour.

FINIS.

CAPTAIN ASGILL.

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Webſter, Mr. Samuel, Framlingham, Suffolk
Webſter Edward, Eſq; Pembroke College, Oxford
Walter, Mr. John, Paternoſter-row
Whitfield, Mr. F. Lewes, Suſſex
Whitfield, Rev. Dr.
Watſon, Captain, Rotherhithe
Watſon, Mr. ditto
Wittock, Mr. Gun Dock
Wood, Mr. Horſley Down
Witſon, Captain John, Emſworth, Hants
White, Mr. Thomas, Whitechapel
Walpole, Mr. Robert, Dover-ſtreet
Wilſon, Rev. Mr. Reigate
Woolmer, Mr. Exeter
White, Mr. Luke, Dublin
Wilkinſon, Mr. William, Duke-ſtreet, St. James's.

Young

Y.

Young Charles, Eſq. Clapton
Young, Mr. George, Long-acre
Yarrington Thomas, Eſq; Broad-ſtreet
Young, Mr. Thomas, Cavendiſh-ſtreet
Yerbury, Mr. James, Tottenham Court Road.

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